Modernizing Indian Peasants

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A Study of Six Villages
in Eastern Uttar Pradesh

Surinder Jetley

Asian Educational Services
India, 1977

The responsibility for the facts stated, conclusions reached and opinion expressed in this work is entirely that of the author and not of the Indian Council of Social Science Research which has financed the publication of this work.

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Dedicated

to

my mother

Shrimati Ram Rakhi Joshi

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Foreword

The concept of modernization and the philosophy of community development appear to have lost much of their earlier appeal ; they do not, at any rate, evoke the same enthusiatic response as they did some twenty-five years ago. Subjected to rigorous scrutiny, the formulation of the concept of modernization has been found inadequate in many aspects ; the payoff of the community development approach, similarly, has been far short of its promise. However, their rejection is perhaps as hasty ano uncritical as the chorus of applause that greeted them initially.

The extended debate on modernization was useful insofar as it identified certain critical variables that significantly influence the transformation of what were described as "traditional societies". An inventory of traits and attributes—individual and societal—that activate and sustain modernization process also emerged through this discussion. But there are several gaps in the formulation. The social and cultural objectives of modernization—short-term and long-term—have not been precisely defined. The theory is especially weak in explicating man's relation to his work and its products and also the relationship of man to other men in society. It is siguificant that the discussion on modernization has not been particularly sensitive to the growing volume of criticism of industrial society. Also, the theories of modernization have been shy of making a comparative and critical assessment of the alternative paths of modernization. The existence of more than one path is recognized, but implicitly the western capitalist model is upheld as the ideal. The vital question *Whose Modernization*? remains unanswered. The experience of the Third World suggests that the process often results in

the modernization of the few at the expense of the many. Some incidental benefits spread out to the masses, but the quality of their life does not undergo any visible change. The theory holds the ethnocentric predicament of the developing societies responsible for their lack of progress, but it is itself vitiated by an ethnocentric bias. In it tradition comes in for a great deal of harsh criticism; some of it is just, some of it is not well founded. The positive aspects of tradition—elements that have sustained these societies—are never adequately acknowledged. The implications of several components of tradition for a preferred future also do not receive much attention. Finally, the national order and world order dimensions of the process are at best scratched on the surface. One of the important reasons why many developing societies cannot modernize themselves is that the modernized ones i.e. the developed and the affluent societies do not let them do so. The unjust economic and political world order denies them the resources to raise their levels.

The community development approach had raised high hopes when it was first propounded. But its performance has lagged behind its promise. Experiments of community development around the world have demonstrated some of its weaknesses—elite bias, bureaucratization, lopsided priorities and unwanted reforms, and incapacity to address itself to the basic problems accounting for retardation of societies. Mobilization of community resources and activating its members is doubtless necessary, but without support of national resources, the community cannot move very far. Inadequate inputs from national resources blunt community initiatives. Because of unequal distribution of power in agrarian societies the distribution of the benefits of community development approach are also unequal. The poor, the weak, and the vulnerable are at best its marginal beneficiaries. Philosophy of community development does emphasize attitudinal and value change, but these cannot be brought about in the absence of major structural alterations in the framework of society. The culture of poverty sets limits to the raising and enlargement of consciousness. As a result community development lends itself by and large to maintenance of *status quo*, it is

at best a palliative and not a radical treatment for the ills of underdevelopment.

The inner dynamic of the processes of community development and modernization have not been sufficiently documented. In this painstaking and careful study Dr. Surinder Jetley microscopically examines these processes in three pairs of selected villages in three Community Development Blocks in Varanasi district, Uttar Pradesh. She makes inter-village comparisons as well as inter-individual comparisons for villages. She has shown considerable imagination and enterprise in formulating her research design; it may not be a perfect design according to textbook specifications, but it certainly is one that works under Indian conditions. The study brings out in clear relief individual as well as community response and highlights areas of success and failure, She does not offer any tantalizing formulations, but the empirical data systematically gathered and perceptively analyzed by her definitely brings us closer to the understanding of the contemporary social reality. She merits commendation on the excellence of her work. Her narrative is deceptively simple, but it is on the basis of such work that we can hope to build relevant and meaningful formulations in respect of the processes of development and modernization.

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Preface

Following Independence, planned social changes are a major force in the modernization of Indian society. Designed to reach all levels of the social system, the developmental strategy is a comprehensive one. This study is confined to only one aspect of the configuration referred to as modernization: the acceptance of modern agricultural practices in the rural-peasant dominated society. The effort is designed to seek answers to two questions. First, what are the structural determinants of the pace of modernization? Second, what are the other attributes of modernity that accompany the continued use of modern agricultural practices and modern role structures? The answer is sought at two levels of analysis, the village and its structural description, and the individual innovativeness in its correlation with selected set of variables.

The findings suggest the structural base as an important determinant of the pace of development, and the process of modernization reveals multi-pattern adaptations by the traditional structures. The selective acceptance of modern values and retaining of many traditional ones is viewed as a necessary stage in the transformation as well as in the nature of the process of modernization which is a multi-linear rather than a unilinear one. This is a research area which needs a close and continued observation of the implications of economic and technological advance, and the accompanying changes in the system of attitudes, beliefs, values and institutional complex.

Like any other research undertaking, this too is a joint venture. The cooperation, encouragement, supervision and assistance of many people is acknowledged in this finished product. For financial assistance, I am thankful to the

University Grants Commission for a grant for field work of a pilot study, as well as for a stay at the National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad.

A Fulbright-Haystrand travel grant and United States Government Scholarship which came through the United States Educational Foundation in India financed my one year's stay at Michigan State University in the United States in 1969-70. I used this one year for the analysis and interpretation of my field material for this work. I wish to thank Professors F.B. Waisanen, J. Allen Beegle and Charles P. Loomis of the Sociology Department and Professor Everett M. Rogers of the Department of Communication, M.S.U., for their critical interest in my work and comments on an earlier draft of my thesis. Their suggestions provided clarity to my presentation and a fresh perspective of my own data. The limitations are mine, of course.

To the respondents in the six villages of my study, I owe deep gratitude. I will be attracted to go there again and again for learning and recording the ever moving process of change. I am also thankful to the Development Administration for providing valuable information about the selected villages.

I will be showing ingratitude if I do not acknowledge the contribution of my family in patiently bearing the burden of this research which very often took more than their share of time and attention. My husband, Ved, not only escorted me to the field for collection of data, but has also helped me by criticizing with his practical wisdom of a seasoned researcher, besides showing tremendous patience and co-operation on the domestic front.

Professor S.C. Dube, a pioneer in the studies on planned social change in India, has very kindly agreed to write a foreword to my book, for which I am grateful to him. I want to thank Professor S.K. Srivastava my formal supervisor of doctoral work, for which the data presented here were collected.

Finally, I wish to express my thanks to the Publishers Asian Educational Services for bringing out this book.

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Introduction

Social changes within the involute cultural structure of India have occurred throughout its history and continue to do so. The exogenous process of change, however, is more actively associated with the advent of British rule.[1] The coming of Indian Independence, added a new social force to these twin change processes-the challenge of modernization by consciously planned and engineered efforts supported by the state and aimed at transforming the Indian society in its very roots. In the scope of its objectives, magnitude of application, and methods of operation, India's planned social change programmes are unparalleled in the history of mankind.

During the 200 years of British rule in India the foundations of modern state were laid by the introduction of new technology; the revolution in communication; establishment of *Pax Britannica*, setting up of uniform law, order and revenue-collection machinery; a new educational system; the printing press; new medicine; abolition of existing anti-social customs; and, lastly but not the least important, the influence of Christian missionaries. On the one hand, these influences provided alternative modes of thought and behaviour, on the other, by acting as unifying forces for dispersed common-interest groups they reinforced the traditional symbols. The contact with a highly modern culture did not lead to the same process of modernization which characterized the rest of the industrialized world. This was so because the interests of the colonial administration were better served by a largely rural

[1]A detailed description of the twin processes of Sanskritization and Westernization is found in M.N. Srinivas, *Social Change in Modern India*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968).

population.

In the traditional rural society two important factors inhibited development. Firstly, there was the system of land tenure in which the economic, political and social benefits of British Raj came as windfalls to the small elite group of landlords. Secondly, while the fruits of industrialization accrued to the colonial ruler, the main base of rural economy was shattered by a decline in handicrafts and subsequent pressure on land. An ever-increasing population growth without matching increase in production accentuated society's misery. There is an abundance of literature highlighting the elements which have acted as deterrents to the development of the Indian rural society. The loci of these elements are in the social system, personality system, and the system of values. This is an ideal-typical description, but provides a useful point of reference.[2]

The social system is characterized by a socially allocated status into which one is born; a position reinforced by economic calling attached to it. A typical arrangement of roles performance, social statuses, social relations, rewards and sanctions, are effectively defined for each segment of society and provide a fixed base to the social organization. In a hierarchical arrangement of social units, the patterns of behaviour are governed by family and caste, which also regulate the nature and extent of communication with members of the other groups. In a predominantly subsistence agricultural economy, the family structure is the basic unit of social, economic and cultural participation.

Sanctioning the social system is the imprint of the "sacred" governing thought patterns, such as the doctrine of "Karma" and "Dharma", the notion of rebirth, a cyclical view of time, the interpretation of the supernatural, and renunciation and contentment. These are not philosophical theories to be

[2]On the nature of traditional rural society, some of the most often quoted works are: S.C. Dube, *Indian Village* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1955); R.K. Mukerjee, *The Dynamics of Rural Society* (Akademic-Verlag, 1957); F.G. Bailey, *Caste and the Economic Frontier* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1957); Oscar Lewis, *Village Life in Northern India* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1958); and Milton Singer (ed.), *Traditional India Structure and Change* (Philadelphia: The American Folklore Society, 1959).

translated into action by voluntary rationalism. They are the guiding principles for practiced behaviour and the essential ingredients of personality makeup, not any mystical goals. Over the years the emphasis came to be more and more on ritualism, and was increasingly divorced from utilitarian considerations.

The personality type is essentially oriented to group-determined feelings, aspirations and motivations and not innovation. Even the elites are expected to preserve the norms of society; to act as interpreters rather than innovators. Such an orientation discourages traits of self-reliance, self-confidence, initiative, and inculcates a "dependency complex," which is functional in a hierarchical and authoritarian traditional society.[3]

The social scene just described is an abstraction. The reality of the situation is marked by a confrontation of the forces of tradition and modernization. In many areas the conflicts are pronounced. The new demands for national effort and larger social interest, rationality, achievement, aspirations, universalistic value orientation, and functional specificity, provide a large area of conflict with existing social set up. The forces of change are becoming more effective in integrating the rural society into the wider social system, and providing new perspectives to the world view of the little community. Several factors have contributed to the modernization process: the revolution in communication, the spread of a money-economy, new legislative measures, ideological movements, adult franchise, electricity, irrigation, disease-control measures, and constitutional provisions for caste-free educational, political and economic opportunities.

Community development for transforming rural society is an approach which has given direction and purpose to the existing change processes. State-sponsored development programmes seek to bring about massive rural mobilization.

At the theoretical level, community development is viewed as an approach for encouraging self-reliance and initiative among individuals for collective social action, in which the

[3]William Kapp, *Hindu Culture, Economic Development and Economic Planning in India* (New Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1963).

interests of the individual will be coterminus with the community's development.[4] The term community refers to an operating social unit in which social interactions take place. It is marked by territoriality, interdependence and a sharing of common interests. The village has been accepted as this operational unit, though it is also an integral part of the larger social system. Development connotes both economic and social change, purposely aimed at achieving desired objectives.

The idea behind the approach is not new, yet it is novel in its coverage of the entire rural society by a net-work of administrative machinery which, for the first time, has brought the skill, knowledge, supplies and means for self-improvement to the villager's doorstep. Such aid is considered essential until the community can sustain the movement by its own resources, initiative and social action. The aims are:

1. Regeneration of economy through material development by increasing the use of scientific technology and specifically increasing physical inputs, human skill and rational use of resources.
2. Modern organization set-up for encouraging cooperation, self-reliance and initiative in the village community.
3. Enhancement of social welfare provided by the social and economic infra-structure, promotion of education, health, sanitation, and increased employment opportunities, etc.

While the tangible benefits envisaged are an increase in production, employment and income and the emergence of

[4]Abstracting 59 policy articles from internationally involved journals on community development, Erasmus reports that 60% stress "Self-help" group action via community participation and voluntary co-operation as an ideal procedure, followed by 40% mentioning the ideal goal of effecting it as "self-determination," "democracy," "self-reliance" or "local self-government." Material goals are discussed less often (10%). For a detailed discussion, see Charles J. Erasmus, "Community Development: Science or Ideology," *Human Organization* 64 (Vol. 27, No. 1 Spring, 1968), p. 65-74.

active organizations providing modern functions and a healthy educated society, the ultimate goal is change in social attitudes. The programme seeks to bring about an increased awareness of alternatives and the rational selection of them, the secularization of beliefs, the increase of aspirations and a willingness to fulfill them even if it means postponement of immediate satisfactions, increased mental and social participation in the larger social system, and, finally, a faith in joint effort for community growth.

The highest priority is given to development of the economy. In the first Five Year Plan this emphasis is explained thus:

> The problem of development of an underdeveloped economy is one of utilizing more effectively the potential resources available for the community, and it is this which involves economic planning. But the economic condition of a country at any given time is a product of the broader social environment, and economic planning has to be viewed as an integral part of a wider process aiming not merely at the development of resources in a narrow technical sense, but at the development of human faculties and the building up of an institutional framework adequate to the needs and aspirations of the people.

The emphasis on democratic methods and equalitarianism forms the ideological content of the community development programme. The former means reliance on the willingness of people to change: through persuasion and education the attempt is made to involve increasing numbers of people in accepting new practices, values and guides of behaviour. It is also hoped that these people will feel morally bound to involve others in group undertakings.

There are approximately 5,265 Community Development Blocks in the rural areas of India, each Block comprising of 100 villages in an area of 390 to 520 sq. kms. and each Block is generally responsible for a population of sixty to seventy thousand.

The first stage of development is marked by an intensive focus in terms of budget, personnel and effort, followed by a period of specific subject matter departments taking care of

already initiated programmes and finally normalization of the process by making it a permanent part of the overall planning and development machinery with reduced assistance of government. The belief is that the community by then is capable of generating its own momentum of development. The goal is one of creating a village community which can assume responsibility and initiative for developing the resources of the village, providing necessary leadership, arousing enthusiasm for improving village conditions, and promoting a large measure of social, economic and political participation in modern organizational set up. In such a community, the individuals would be responsive to new alternatives for betterment of their life, responsible for making their own decisions by rational choice, while participating in the affairs of community.

In planning democratic development, India is a pioneer country. Its programme is well documented. There is a large volume of literature supported by modern statistical apparatus on policy, objectives and details of implementation.

The experience of nearly two decades of planning has shown a wide gap between ideals and performance. Some attribute it to several unexamined fallacious assumptions underlying the whole planned efforts, others consider a complex of factors to be responsible, such as: "adversity of nature, or the perversity of farmers, or the fecundity of man."[5] Still others emphasize the social structural determinants of change processes. Rooted in the framework of institutions, attitudes, economic and social power relations, are the sources of inefficiency, inequality and rigidity. There are several explanations for the obstacles to change and perhaps as many suggested measures to accelerate it.

The role of a sociologist, especially one who is also a partisan in the social transformation of a developing society, becomes an important one in analysing the processes of change. The challenge is two-fold: contributing to the theoretical understanding of change in man's social behaviour, and application of such knowledge for a more effective realization of democratic development and a fuller satisfaction of social needs.

[5]See Theodore W. Shultz "What Ails World Agriculture—An American View" (*The Times of India*, April 9, 1968).

In the words of Myrdal: "All social study, even on the theoretical level where facts and causal relations are ascertained, is policy directed, in the sense that it assumes a particular direction of social change to be desirable."[6] The study of the ongoing process of social change is not "an eventual but an imperative topical necessity."[7] Besides providing a unique opportunity of observing major changes in society, we fulfil our obligation to posterity by leaving "careful records of contemporary life and cultures."[8]

There have been several attempts at studying the impact of planned social change in the Indian rural society. These works have shown a consensus in reporting that the basic objectives of equalitarian society and reduction in the economic and social disparities, have not been achieved.[9] Some place the blame on the basic postulates underlying the ideology and the design of the plans of change. Others see the failure to be one of a lack of understanding about the nature of this society.[10]

In an entirely new vein, a recent survey views the unequal pace of change, with the upper strata moving faster, as not

[6]Gunnar Myrdal, *Asian Drama*. Vol. I (New York: Pantheon, 1968) p. 49.

[7]R.K. Mukerjee, *op. cit.*

[8]S.C. Dube, *op. cit.*

[9]Even the planners themselves admit this failure. See report of the meeting of the National Development Council, (*Times of India*, April 19, 1969). For broad surveys of rural development see: *All India Rural Credit Survey* (Reserve Bank of India, Central Office, Mint Road, Bombay-SB), for the years 1956-60; Evaluation Reports of the Programme Evaluation Organization (Planning Commission, New Delhi), from 1954-60, and *Summary of Evaluation Studies*, 1960-61; the National Sample Survey Reports, (Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance, Government of India), Nos. 2 to 83; also, series of research publications which are the product of project on "Awareness of Community Development in Village India," 1966, and "Diffusion of Innovations in Rural Societies," 1968 (both from the National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad).

[10]For a summary of evaluations by scholars and organizations, see A.R. Desai, *Rural Sociology in India* (Indian society of Agricultural Economics, Bombay, 1961) p. 553.

only inevitable but also essential if India is to modernize.[11] While an objective appraisal calls for factual analysis of the processes of change as they emerge, it is also a moral obligation of the social scientist to examine their relevance for stated social goals. This view is implied in the policy of the state in gearing most of the programmes of development to the benefit of the well-to-do farmers.[12] While democratic ends are served by promising emancipation to many rather than few, the increase in national productivity has been registered due to the acceptance of scientific technology by the progressive farmers. The assumption is that helping these advanced individuals will aid in spreading knowledge and technical advice to others. In other words they are to be the leaders, and would also have "progressive outlook."[13] This view needs to be validated.

The "progressive rich farmer" have been made the lynchpin of all agrarian development. The majority of the innovations are supposed to be accepted by them which is expected to boost up the socio-economic changes. But accepting scientific technology and adopting innovations is one thing and developing an all round scientific world-view or humanistic viewpoint is another. Thus we have to examine if the "progressive farmer" is also a modern man in his general social behaviour and to what extent he fulfils an expected role of being a model for the mass of the people. The reliance on that advanced farmer is based on the assumption that an innovation has an

[11]A recent survey by the National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad, India, supports the trend towards modernization of larger farms as desired development for increased productivity in future. See their report, *Agricultural Innovations among Indian Farmers* by Frederick C. Fliegel, *et. al.* (May, 1968) p. 96.

[12]The most recent survey on "Diffusion of Innovations," conducted by NICD, Hyderabad, *op. cit.*, was carried out in states other than Uttar Pradesh. Its area of study was West Bengal, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh. This research is somewhat similar in its design to the NICD Survey.

[13]For the list of requirements a farmer may have in order to be registered as a "progressive farmer" and thus entitled to greater attention by the agents of change, see: *Report of the Team for the study of Community Projects and National Extension Service* Volume 3, Part 1 (New Delhi, 1957). p. 254-55. Also refer S.C. Dube, *India's Changing* Villages (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960) see W.F. Wertheim, East West Parallels (The Hague: W. Van Hague, Ltd., 1968) p. 260.

effect like an 'oil-stain' which spreads from the early adopters to the other layers of the society. The approach is called 'Betting on the strong'. Wertheim examines the validity of the viewpoint in Indonesia and notes that this oil-stain effect stops at the ten percent level of rural people in most countries of the Third World. The mass of the people under the strains of ignorance and poverty lack in responding to the well-intentioned, beneficial governmental programmes. It has also been observed that not all the large landowners, who stand to profit by adoption of innovations, may be induced to do so as they may not have sufficient stake in land and would be content with any surplus through cultivation of their land by share-croppers or tenants. Thus rural class has been a powerful section in rural power structure, but to assume that it also possesses scientific outlook or sufficiently strong motivations to lead the community on the road to prosperity, needs to be qualified by empirical evidence.

It needs to be seen who is 'progressive' among the different segments of the rural population and why so. The varied conditions may show different patterns of response. Yet if a general picture can be constructed to arrive at explanation about a significant area of social behaviour, as well as pinpointing the impediments and facilitators of modernization, it could prove a worthwhile research endeavour.

At present there is a large number of variables that seem relevant with regard to modernization research, but we need to select the crucial ones that may explain the variations in the acceptance of change. This study starts by reviewing samples of literature on modernization and drawing a list of variables which may be empirically studied and their inter-relationships seen, in the interest of the broad theoretical concern for social change. Chapter one deals with the theoretical framework from which the major premises of this research are constructed. A description of the social unit in which peasants have most of their social inter-actions has been discussed under chapter three and four. The idea is to establish associations between development and such community differences as may be seen in its situation, social structure, population and developmental characteristics.

The research object in chapter five is the peasant himself,

whose personal, situational and socio-psychological characteristics are correlated with innovativeness as measured by acceptance of modern agricultural practices. A summary of findings and conclusions is given in the final chapter which also discusses the limitations of this study and the needed future research.

There has been little research done in the region undertaken for this study, on the lines suggested for analysing inter-village and inter-individual variations in planned development and modernization.[14]

While the basic concern of this research lies in its attempt to further the theory of social change in general and modernization in particular, its potential use also lies in the relevance of such knowledge in its applications for acceleration of social processes towards desired directions.

The study was undertaken in three pairs of villages of district Varanasi in Eastern Uttar Pradesh, each containing a 'most developed' and a 'least developed' in three selected Blocks. The design of research is given in chapter two.

[14]The most recent national survey conducted by NICD, Hyderabad, on somewhat similar lines was carried out in W. Bengal, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra. See: *Agricultural Innovations in Indian Villages* by Frederick C. Fliegal, Prodipto Roy and others (Hyderabad: NICD, March 1968).

CHAPTER ONE

Modernization: The Concept and the Theory

The concept of social change has assumed a new significance today. It is more rapid and thoroughgoing than ever before.[1] The movement is towards increasing social and technological mobilization affecting worldwide transformations, though in varying degrees. The phenomenal growth in knowledge in the past one hundred and fifty years has been largely responsible for increasing gains in man's scientific and technological command, which in turn is associated with certain forms of social structure, values, attitudes and practices termed "modern". The countries of Europe, North America, USSR and Japan approximate the patterns associated with the modern type. However, the long process of historical change and growth-processes failed to embrace three-fourths of humanity in Asia, Africa and Latin America; hence the desire in these areas to modernize by conscious effort.

The impact of planned and directed efforts aimed at realizing certain pre-determined objectives may not always result in achieving the desired states because social processes are never fatally pre-determined. But when conscious purpose enters as a major social force in manipulating and directing the course of change, these pocesses are subject to strong influences. As Shils[2] puts it: "A society which, however minimally, advances toward modernity. . .has irreversibly turned its back on the

[1]For historical surveys describing the unique features of the contemporary era, C.E. Black, *The Dynamics of Modernization* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966).

[2]Edward Shils, "The Military in the Political Development of the New States," in Johnson (ed.) The *Role of Military in Underdeveloped Countries* (New York: Princeton, N.J., 1962) p. 60-1.

traditional oligarchic alternative." The transformation of a traditional society may proceed in varying patterns, but it is seen as a movement away from traditionalism.[3]

In order to analyze what is the response of an existing culture and society to consciously planned social change programmes, it would be relevant to describe, as a point of reference, the characteristics of the situations from which change is sought. This type of exercise has to necessarily rely upon the preceeding efforts made for such analyses.

The developing societies of the world are termed "traditional" and their counterparts at a higher stage of economic and technical development as "modern." The aspects taken to make the differentiation are not only economic and technical but also social and cultural. While it is recognized that the "contemporary period is the complex and intricate intermixture of all shades of world outlook from the most traditional to the most modern within the world community, within every society, within most social systems, and often within the same individuals,"[4] it is imperative to conceptualize the terms "traditional" and "modern" to understand social reality as it is.

From the classic tradition of sociological theories come the continuity of thought dichotomizing societies as ideal types. Durkheim's "mechanical solidarity" and "organic solidarity," Tonnies' "Gemeischaft" and "Gessellschaft," Weber's "traditional" and "rational," Redfield's "folk" and "urban," Rostow's "traditional" and "mass-consumption," Merton's "local" and "cosmopolite," Lerner's "traditional" and "modern" and Parson's "pattern variables," serve as some illustrations.

Deducing from the above typologies, the typical and dominant characteristics of the two types can be summarized in terms of their social organization, economy, social relations and values. A tradition oriented society has its status system based

[3]E.M. Rogers, *Elements in the Subculture of Traditionalism* (Paper presented at the Society for Applied Anthropology, Mexico, 1969), and F.B. Waisanen, *Actors, Social Systems, and the Modernization Process* (presentation at The Carnegie Seminar, Indiana University, 1968).

[4]John Useem and Ruth Hill Useem, "American Educated Indians and Americans in India: A Comparison of Two Modernizing Roles," *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. XXIV No. 4 (October, 1968).

on ascription, the membership to which is based on hereditary qualities. Its institutions are particularistic and the structure of power is authoritarian. Social behaviour is multidimensional and the network of social relations is confined to the small community which forms the basis of social cohesion. The bulk of the population in these societies lives in rural environs and makes its living from conditions little under its control.

The social relations in the tradition-oriented society are marked by affectivity. The collective is more important than the individual. The values underlying the customs, rituals and traditions are based on the belief that the ultimate in perfection was achieved somewhere in the past and thus the future is perpetuated out of the past. The inherited wisdom and its appropriateness is seldom questioned. The traditional is synonymous with the sacred and non-rational.

The modern society, on the other hand, places a high premium on achieved characteristics on which status division is based. Universalistic organizations and individual's participation in them separate the multi-dimensional basis of behaviour. The radius of social relations extends beyond the confines of the little community. The primary occupations are replaced by increasing reliance on advanced technology and skills for ever-increasing control on material environment. The past is retained to the extent it supports the goals for the future. The future is not seen as sealed fate, but the image of what is conceived and what can be translated in the actions and behaviour of men.

There can be endless comparisons when speaking of the structure of the traditional and modern societies. The distinction between the two is useful for locating societies at various points on the processual plane and for understanding the most dominant features at a point of time. Thus, it is essential to delineate those features of the traditional societies which are understood as inhibiting factors to the modernizing efforts. The inherent implication in this type of specification is that modernization is considered as a "self-evident good", at least in its technical form.[5]

[5]R.K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1961) p. 317.

While tradition and traditional norms form the basis of many practices in the highly modernized societies and maintain the continuity of the system, they are not sacred and unalterable. Their acceptance is due to their merit and not to their inviolability. Action based on past traditions because they are sacred and their transmission necessary for the current behavioural norms has a reactionary element. This type of action is described as traditionalistic. It is a deliberate attempt to perpetuate the future from what is considered the glorious past. Opposed to Weber's rational action, it has been considered to have exercised a negative influence on the economic and political progress of the societies characterized by it.[6]

Traditionalism is a complex of elements to be universally found among the less modernized, whether they be urban poor, peasants or ethnic minorities and which sets the subculture apart from the larger social system. In this culture-free context, Rogers summarizes ten elements in the subculture of traditionalism, which needs to be examined for an understanding of what is changing rather than for change *per se* in the modernizing process.[7] These are : mutual distrust in interpersonal relations, perceived limited good, dependence on and hostility toward government authority, familism, lack of innovativeness, fatalism, limited aspirations, lack of deferred gratification, limited view of the world and low empathy.

The persistence of the above elements and their hindering influence on the peasantry in Asia, Africa and Latin America has been recognized by researchers engaged in the study of these cultures and by planners of conscious change.[8]

Just as there is universality associated with the elements of traditionalism, so also the modernization ideals are viewed as

[6]Max Weber, "The Social Psychology of World Religions" in H.H. Gerth and C.W. Mills (eds.) *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (New York, 1946) p. 296.

[7]Rogers, *op. cit.*

[8]Some of the most quoted works are: A.M. Foster, *Traditional Cultures and the Impact of Technological Change* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962); S.C. Dube, *India's Changing Villages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1958); Robert Redfield, *Peasant Society and Culture* (Chicago, 1956); Wiser & Wiser, *Behind Mud Walls* (Berkeley, 1963) and Daniel Lerner, *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East* (New York, 1958).

applicable to all efforts at worldwide transformations. Describing these ideals, Myrdal lists them as : rationality, development and planning for development, rise of productivity, rise of levels of living, social and economic equalization, improved social institutions and attitudes, national considerations, national independence, political democracy in a narrow sense, democracy at the grass roots and democratic approach in planning.[9] These ideals which form the core of the official creed are almost a "national religion" in south-east Asia. They are stated value premises and not essentially realized ideals. The major force supporting the ideals is political, as the peoples are thought to be incapacitated due to long repressive forces working in the society. Thus, the task of modernizing, from arousal of frustration to directing it in social action for operationalizing plans and programmes of social change is viewed largely as a responsibility of the state. The joint efforts of mobilized society and a helpful governmental agency with its financial, administrative and technical assistance are seen as supplementing each other. Both have the ultimate goal of making modernization a self-sustaining process.

There is sufficient historical evidence to show that one of the most important preconditions of rapid social change is political. The State has played the crucial role of innovator in the effective modernization of Russia, Mexico and Japan. Where the State did not take the initiative, the society remained backward as for a century and a half in India.[10] The greater the degree of relative backwardness of a country's economic and technical level, the greater the importance of comprehensive change in the overall makeup of society. Such comprehensive programmes can be conducted only with the support and resources of national governments. It is at this level that a society has access to worldwide experiences and to all the benefits of the modern age. Not only is the State capable of exercising control over the total resources of a society, but it is also more effective than any other agency in being able to

[9]Gunnar Myrdal, *The Asian Drama . An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations* (New York: Pantheon, 1968), Vol. I, p. 57.

[10]V.V. Bhatt, *Aspects of Economic Change and Policy in India* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, and 1963) p. 46.

influence "the forms of social behaviour by altering patterns of rewards and sanctions, by reallocating responsibility and authority, and by intervening in other ways in the social structure."[11] State initiative in weakening or obliterating barriers to change and in providing alternatives by the institutionalization of innovation cannot be overemphasized.

The historical example of a totalitarian government and commitment to planned social change for effective modernization as adopted by Soviet Russia is one strategy in which deliberate change is effected by the imposition of coercive power. It may be used to liquidate all situations offering resistance. An alternative approach, lacking the social discipline and force for rapid change though preserving the dignity and freedom of individual, is the democratic approach which is supported ideologically and materially by the bulk of the humanity.

What happens when a society seeks to steer its course of change? Does it follow some patterned course? Which are the areas in which change occurs first and what variables merit consideration for analysing the processes of change? These questions form some of the concerns for planned development and modernization research.

Not long ago the social scientists cautioned against disturbing cultures and condemned efforts at changing them. The danger of disrupting the entire fabric of society by change in one segment of culture was the basis of their argument. Efforts at studying traditional cultures focussed primarily on studying stability and continuity in the complex and delicately balanced network of societies. The potential for change was not emphasized nor was there any exploration of the possibility of intervening, altering or replacing existing states by social planning. The wisdom gained from the study of such functionally interdependent societies was held to be essential for the white man who could be helped to "govern, exploit and 'improve' the native with less pernicious results to the latter."[12]

The above notion has been replaced by a modified viewpoint

[11]B.F. Hoselitz, "Main Concepts in the Analysis of the Social Implications of Technical Change" in B.F. Hoselitz and W.E. Moore (eds.), *Industrialization and Society* (UNESCO, 1966) p. 28.

[12]Bronislaw Malinawski, *Crime and Custom in Savage Society* (London: Routledge, 1951).

of 'functionalism' which not only sees aspects of culture and social structure as functionally interrelated, but as also "dynamically active, and adaptively responsive to changing conditions in the environment."[13] Such change is not opposed to the existing system of values but rather an outcome of coexistence, mutual adaptation and synthesis of the modern and the traditional. Not only is such a pattern in social change normal but it is a saving factor in a period of rapid transformation. As Hoselitz puts it:

> presistence of traditions in social behaviour may be an important factor mitigating the many dislocations and disorganizations which tend to accompany. . . .[14]

A complete overhauling of a social system in which the existing base is disregarded is considered sociologically unimaginative and practically impossible. Every society must proceed on at least a part of the existing base and draw heavily from those parts of its cultural inventory that are conducive to the goals of desired change. On the other hand, the forces of change may leave deep dents, even injury, on the traditional system.[15] The adaptive demands of both culture and modernization lead to new interpretations. Since the cultural context in which change takes place is significant in the pattern it may acquire, there will be as many patterns as the contexts in which they emerge. The multi-linear patterns which the course of new emerging forces display in South and South-East Asia is very different from the model set by societies that modernized earlier. The attempts at demonstrating universality and uni-

[13]Milton Singer, "Traditional Value Systems, Modern Science and Technology in South Asia: Some Suggestions for Research," in *Understanding Science and Technology in India and Pakistan.* (Occasional Publication No. 8, State Education Department, New York, 1967). Similar thesis is supported by Joseph R. Gusfield, "Tradition and Modernity: Misplaced Polarities in the Study of Social Change," *American Journal of Sociology* (Vol. 72. No. 4, Jan. 1967) p. 351-62.

[14]Hoselitz, *op. cit* , p. 15.

[15]S.C. Dube, "Formulating the Goals of Change" in *Some Aspects of Social Change in India*, B. Kuppuswamy and P. Mehta (eds.) (1968).

dimensionality of modernization are only partially successful.[16]

Nevertheless, there is substantial literature on modernization which conceives of a universally applicable model of change. The process of modernization is studied in the period in which the switch over from tradition to modernity takes place. Thus, the two points of start and culmination are the principal points of reference. These points of reference vary from one scholar to another. A forceful logico-theoretical approach is based on Levy's argument that the "uses of inanimate sources of power and the use of tools to multiply the effect of effort" plus the variations in them explain differences in aspects of social systems, organizational set up of society and stability of structure.[17] Modernization is seen as a frustration-producing process that threatens the stability of a traditional society.

Extending the analysis to more specific regions, Apter considers industrialization as the destination to which the entire process of modernization is geared. In this transformation he sees change reflected in ideology, motivation, and mobility which can be studied by viewing roles of individuals.[18] While Apter emphasizes the process and the range of choices, others view industrialization as a strong dissolvent of the obsolete rigidities of an old social structure. The survival of tradition is seen only in its capacity for adaptation to the demands of industrial society. Rajkrishna draws attention to the two hundred years of the history of industrialization in which no successful resistance to it is citable.[19] In fact, he looks at it as a solvent of social change which inevitably replaces whatever comes in its way.

There is yet another study of recent origin which considers

[16]W.F. Wertheim, *East-West Parallels: Sociological Approaches to Modern Asia*, (The Hague: W. Van Hoeve Ltd., 1964) p. 34. This view is supported by Gusfield, *op. cit.*, and Lalit K. Sen, "The Concepts of Tradition and Modernity: A Re-valuation" (Paper prepared for the Second World Congress of Rural Sociology, Netherlands, 1968).

[17]Marion J. Levy, Jr., *Modernization and the Structure of Society: A Setting for International Affairs* (2 Vols., 1966).

[18]David E. Apter, *Politics of Modernization* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1965).

[19]Raj Krishna, quoted from a discussion in a seminar. *Tradition and Modernity in India* (New Delhi: Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom, 1961).

factories to be the center for modernizing the adult man. Next to the school, work in industrial organization makes significant contributions to the change in attitudes and behaviour of men. In a cross cultural research study, Inkeles contends that modern man is not confined to any typical culture. Wherever he is found he shows, to a striking degree, the same syndrome of attitudes, values and ways of acting such as; openness to new experience, increasing independence from authority of traditional figures, shift of allegiance to organizational leaders, reliance on science, abandonment of passivity and fatalism, orientation towards planning, and ambition for higher achievements and active participation in civic affairs.[20]

Concentrating on the unit of analysis as the individual, McClelland advocates the approach by which men can be "infected" by a mental virus called "n Ach" which will lead them to behave in energetic ways and to undertake renewed interest in work. They will also experiment with new alternatives and come to regard work as preferable to leisure. A modern society, he says, has more men with this impulse to modernize. He demonstrates that it is cultivable, from an experiment among a group of businessmen in Andhra Pradesh, India.[21]

Rostow's model in which the societies show successive stages of economic growth from traditional to mass consumption, which requires development of certain preconditions, comes in the wake of economic determinism. The model has been descriptive of early economic growth and is followed in disturbance of the sequence rather than observance of it among world societies.[22]

The modernization process has attracted scholars from every discipline. A historian looks at it as a continuous process in which "historically evolved institutions are adapted to the rapidly changing functions, that reflect the unprecedented increase in man's knowledge, permitting control over his envir-

[20]Alex Inkeles, "Making Men Modern: On the Causes and Consequences of Individual Change in Six Developing Countries." *American Journal of Sociology* (Vol. 75, No. 2 Sept., 1969).

[21]David C. McClelland, *The Achieving Society* (Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1961).

[22]W.W. Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1960).

onment, that accompanied the scientific revolution."[23] Since the process initially influenced the western world, it came to be essentially equated with westernization. A deeper probe in man's history emphasises the global contributions to western civilization. As Karl W. Deutsh puts it :

> What we call today Western civilization is in very real sense a world civilization, not merely in what is brought to other countries, but also very significantly in what it received from them. Perhaps its "western" peculiarities lie, then, not only in its ability to originate, but also in its ability to innovate, that is to learn actively from others.[24]

In the past century and a half the empirically observable models of modernization are strikingly uniform and conform to a western model; regardless of variations in race, colour or creed. This leads to assumptions that modernization of the new nations must follow the same path. Perhaps the most discussed work is that of Lerner with his unilinear western model of change. The key variables are : mobile personality-physically and psychically (latter called empathy)-and the role of mass media as a mobility multiplier. The end product is secularization and increased political participation. The sequence of change is increased urbanization leading to rise in literacy which is responsible for increased exposure to mass media and results in wider economic and political participation. Any deviation from this model is seen as "a-historical" and a deliberate deformation of the model.[25] Lerner warns against trying "innovation" in this model of modernization. He sees essential behavioural and institutional compulsions which must accompany modernization in the new nations as similar in nature to those in Europe, America or Russia.

[23]C.E. Black, *The Dynamics of Modernization: A Study in Comparative History* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966) p. 7.

[24]Karl W. Deutsch, "The Growth of Nations: Some Recurrent Patterns of Political and Social Integration," paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, New York, 1951. (The Bobbs-Merrill reprints series), p. 562.

[25]Daniel Lerner, *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East* (New York: Free Press, 1958) p. 46.

In the socio-economic-psychological analysis by Hagen, socialization in cultivating need-dependency and an authoritarian social system in traditional society is contrasted with a creative personality with its stress on higher need-achievement and a social system characterized by continuing economic growth. Hagen empasizes creativity which is a part of character formation as a prerequisite of modernization. The social segments most likely to produce sufficient motivation for change are those suffering from status deprivation.[26]

The bulk of research on modernization comes from the western scholar. In their own cultures, inducement to change by conscious direction is relatively unknown. The idealism of the elite in developing societies, reflected in nationalism and in the emphasis on valuable tradition is understandable to the outsider. They have seen a successful model of change and any deviation from it means wasteful and unnecessary experimentation. The social forces which have shaped the traditional societies are not taken into consideration. Recently, attempts have been made to examine, in the context of the developing societies, some of the assumptions underlying modernization research. A decade ago there was a strong prevalence of the view that tradition and modernity are polar opposites in the linear theory of social change with the former being viewed as static, normatively consistent or structurally homogenous, and largely opposed to change.

Examining some of the assumptions underlying linear approaches, Gusfield[27] argues that Weber's conception of traditional-rational typology presented a distortion of reality. Tradition, the opposite of rationalism, became the symbol of static, stagnating and retarding characteristics. But tradition itself is a product of a long period of growth and change. Within the hierarchical system of the traditional set-up, norms and values are not consistent in the different segments of society. In fact, the emphasis on the super structure of common values tends to ignore the wide set of alternative forms of behaviour, The outcome of modernizing forces is not the victory of new and the automatic disappearance of old. The traditional elements are

[26]Everett E. Hagen, *On the Theory of Social Change* (Illinois: Dorsey Press, 1962).

[27]Gusfield, *op. cit.*

not irrational and impractical in *toto*. Therefore, if they are retained in the social system in a period of rapid social change, they have a positive value and satisfying meaning to those who believe in them. The inevitable conflicts between tradition and modernity are over-emphasized. Japan illustrates how the support of traditional collectivistic orientation and feudal-like relationships aid its transformation rather than retarding it.[28] The side-by-side existence, and even mutual support, of pre-modern traditional institutions with modern ones has troubled those who are only familiar with the western model. To a western observer the convergence of traditional and modern appears ambiguous and conflict-producing and is considered only a transitional phase before the emergence of truly modern social system. But this ambiguity is not seen as a society's capacity to change while maintaining both continuity and adaptation to new demands and goals. The perspective for studying social change need not begin with a single set of generalizations of transition, conflict, disruption or even continuity.

The view that modernization evolves from certain prerequisites, like change in basic value orientations or traditional institutions, is not applicable in the light of various examples of effective development without drastic value change. It underscores the part played by traditional values and institutions, as a social force in shaping change and as a strong content of ideological commitment by the modernizing elites.

An objective approach for analysing the process of change in a society developing along modern lines presupposes the crucial importance of rational choice. To recreate in the image of the west would be a negation of the spirit of creativity. As Cantwell Smith writes:

[28]This trend is observed in the Japanese modernization. See Benjamin Schwartz, "Changing Occupations of the Modernization of Japan," p. 36 in Marium B. Jansen (ed.), *Changing Japanese Attitudes Towards Modernization*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965); also see the view presented by John W. Bennett, "Tradition, Modernity and Communalism in Japan's Modernization," *The Journal of Social Issues*, (Oct. 1968, Vol. XXIV, No. 4).

> To be modern does not mean to live in one particular kind of environment rather than another. It means to live in the environment that one's society has deliberately chosen to construct (or to accept) and to do so rationally, self-consciously. This is what science makes available; the power and knowledge to be effectual, to determine results, to control change.

In the context of available empirical evidence from the comparatively less studied developing societies, there is some consensus on the process of change.

Firstly, since the modern comes to a traditional society very often through direct or indirect contact with the West, it is difficult to divorce it from the context of the western growth model. Nevertheless, the forces of change and the existing culture undergo considerable adaptation so that the outcome is not necessarily conforming to the earlier sequence in which established modern counterparts modernized. The economy which the worldwide experiences permit, makes many steps avoidable and hasten development by "leap-frog" movements.

Secondly, programmes of planned social change constitute a strong influence on the process of modernization. Induced stimuli, aimed at changing whole societies, are a new social force in the developing societies which need to be studied. In the past, the importance of such induced change has been under-estimated. The nature and extent of human intervention, and the response of a society and culture to it, form essential areas of analysis of the pace, direction and pattern of modernization.

Thirdly, as has been observed in the context of nonwestern world, a unilinear model is remote from the social reality. A multi-dimensional approach permits taking into account varying patterns in the process of modernization.

Fourthly, modernization not only refers to the acceptance of the new, which has no reference in the tradition of a society, but it also means reinterpretation and modification of

[29]Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *Modernization of a Traditional Society.* (London: Asia Publishing House, 1965) p. 9.

known values.[30]

Fifthly, the analysis of social change calls for an approach which takes note of the variety of factors contributing to it. This implies that change, not only in practices, behaviour, attitude and values, but also in social relationships, must constitute the multi-dimensional treatment of the subject. Most programmes of planned social change aim at a comprehensive coverage of the different aspects of social life. Laying down the conditions for rapid acceptance of planned change, Mead says :

> If change is desired by an entire group, if it cuts across an entire culture, and if all major areas of culture are simultaneously affected, there may be less social disorganization and individual maladjustment than if changes occur piecemeal over a long period.[31]

The content of developmental efforts in the developing societies is primarily economic, and since the major forms of their social living are derived from and supported by the agricultural base, changes in it are given priority. Studies of Mexican peasantry led Foster to remark that if an economic potential does not exist or cannot be built into a programme of directed change, the most careful attention to culture and society is meaningless. Major shifts in the economic basis are almost always followed by significant changes in the other parts of social organization. The economic and technological phases of culture fulfil human needs in a way in which no other form does.[32] As a more vulnerable and change-prone frontier, the economic frontier is referred to as "neutral zone" or "soft spot" for effective initiation from where the penetra-

[30]As the major thesis underlying analysis of social change in the caste context, see M.N. Srinivas, *Caste in Modern India and other Essays* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1962). Sanskritization's applicability to the traditional context of caste is extended to include similar processes in Africa and Middle East. Rogers, *op. cit.*, refers to it as "neo-traditionalization."

[31]Margaret Mead, *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change* (UNESCO, 1955).

[32]G.M. Foster, *Tradition, Cultures and the Impact of Technical Change* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962).

tion to the harder crust of social custom and values is made easier.[33]

The basic objectives of planned social change are to accelerate modernization. But the expected rate or directions are not often achieved. Psychologically, the mass of individuals are not prepared for changes compressed in short periods of time. Sociologically, the existing institutionalized behaviour and its rhythm, to which long adjustment has been made, is not easily exchanged for the uncertainty and anxiety associated with new alternatives. It is not always possible for individuals to associate long-range rewards with the effort input required in the present. For interpreting the new goals, the leadership and the institutional framework existing in the traditional setting may be inadequate. Thus, planned social change depends on the capacity of adaptation by the existing institutions, the taking of roots by the new ones and the quality of the modernizing elites.[34] In order to understand what is the amount and nature of input required to make a society attain its stated objectives, the study of the existing socio-cultural environment is required. Every human group has the ability, latent or manifest, to assimilate and adapt new ways of life. When the latent abilities are brought to the surface and become articulated, the stage for a self-perpetuating change process is laid.

We have witnessed a shift from the belief that man is an inert creature caught in the grip of socio-cultural forces which he may either face or perish, to an emphasis on the innate potential of the human infant and the inherent plasticity of the human mind. Man not only learns culture, but he can also forget or cast aside parts of a culture and adopt in their place new and often radically different forms however difficult and complicated it may be. Such transformation, viewed in the

[33]See B.F. Hoselitz, *Sociological Aspects of Economic Growth* Glencoe: The Free Press, 1960); also R.K. Mukerjee, *Sociologist and Social Change in India* (New Delhi: Prentice Hall of India, 1965) and S.C. Dube, *India's Changing Villages* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958).

[34]Robert Sinai, *The Challenge of Modernization: The West's Impact on the Non-Western World* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1964). Also Edward Shils, "Political Development in the New States" in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, (1959-60).

temporal aspect, involves more than one generation of men.

Modernization has been analysed mainly by two approaches. First is the evolutionary approach in which modernization is an evolutionary stage in the human society. While the Marxian evolutionists believe that the stage of modernization can only be brought by the scrapping the existing order, the structural-functionalist emphasise the essential continuity in human society. The second approach is structural, in which a social system with a certain set of selected variables is more likely to modernize than the one which does not have them. In this thesis the selected village communities have been first analysed to locate the structural features conducive or otherwise in modernization as measured by the level of economic development, more specifically in the use of scientific technology in agriculture. The analysis is extended to determine the association between individual innovativeness (as measured by acceptance of agricultural innovations) and other attributes of modernity.

Thus, taking the social system of the village community and its level of development, each village is described in terms of its: 1. structure and resources 2. communication 3. organisational set up 4. leadership and 5. community effort. This is followed by inter-village differences to find out the facilitators or deterrants of development.

The individual variations are examined in the light of a complex of interrelated variables. The paradigm shown here for individual innovativeness takes the adoption of new agricultural practices as a measure of modern behaviour. It further shows the relationship between this modern behaviour and four sets of variables: bio-social, economic, inter-systemic and attitudinal.

The first set of variables refer to an individual's inherited and achieved status and its implications for innovative personality have been recognised in research literature. The second set is concerned with the resources owned for economic operations. The third set of variables refer to those that enhance the individual mobility and as great facilitators of modernization. Lerner, Loomis, Rogers and Waisanen, among others, emphasize the significance of extra-systemic linkages. The fourth set of variables are crucial to complete the picture

of processual change by taking into account what goes on in the minds of men. Far too often, mental orientations of individuals are taken for granted.

Paradigm of Inter-relationships Between Modernization Variables

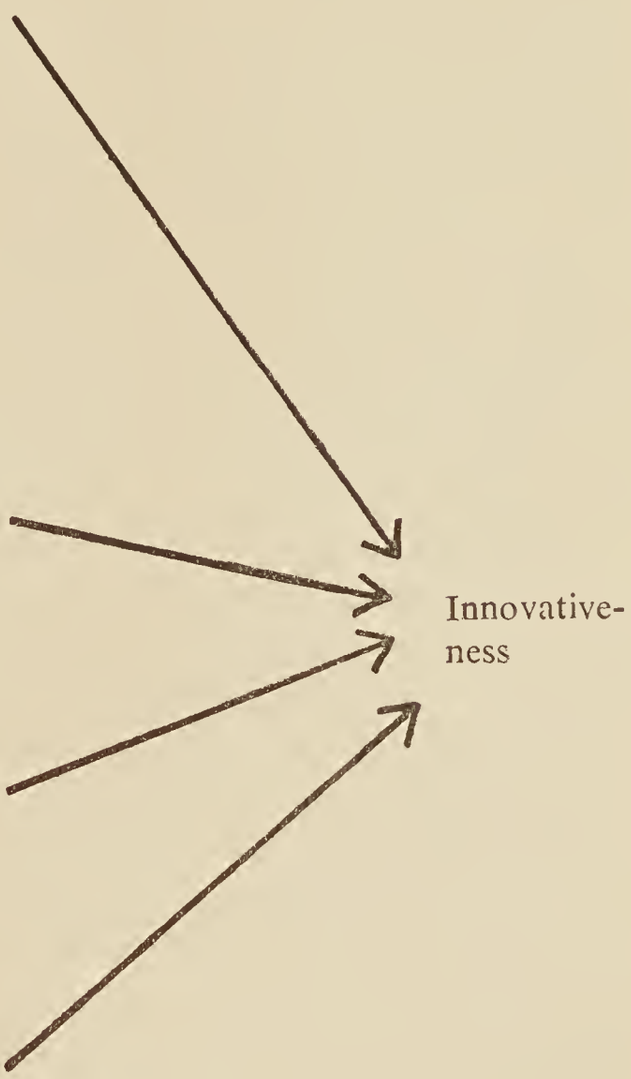
Independent Variables

I. Bio-Social Variables:
1. Family
2. Age
3. Education
4. Non-farm Occupation
5. Non-farm Income
6. Social Status:
   a. Caste
   b. Material Possessions
   c. Social participation

II. Economic Variables:
1. Operational Unit
2. Lobour
3. Animal Power
4. Mechanical Power
5. Credit utilisation

III. Inter-systemic Variables:
1. Urban contact
2. Mass Media
3. Change agency contact
4. Opinion Leadership

IV. Attitudinal Variables:
1. Attitudes to Modern Agriculture:
   a. Belief in yield increase
   b. Willingness for increased inputs
   c. Commercial Orientation
   d. Rational Orientation
2. Secular Orientation
3. Deferred Gratification
4. Economic Pull
5. Educational Aspiration



Dependent Variable

They are conceptually framed in the image of normative structure and are supposed to be there.[35]

The model outlined here hypothesises that a modern man comes from higher socio-economic status, a family in which members have life opportunites like extra village employment, income, and education. His reference is not only to the social system of which he is a part, but also to the system external to him; for instance, the city, the community development agency, and the world of mass media. He is also expected to have favourable attitudes to scientific agriculture and technology; health and family planning practices; is able to take the role of the impersonal others; can postpone immediate satisfactions for the sake of rewards at a future date; and is prepared to keep economic self-interest before the demands of family, caste, and village. Such an individual is not only open to suggestions of the others, he is seeking advice from those who have more skills than him, as well as acting as opinion leader for those who are less knowledgeable than him.

This line of logic is undertaken to establish the relationships between the set of variables selected. It does not, however, rule out the possibility of "irregularities" in the model, for example, the change in behaviour without attitudinal change in all its aspects, or symbolic change in attitudes alone without concrete behavioural transformations. In fact, in the transitional phases of planned social change, such discrepancies are not only expected, they are "normal." Whether the persistence of traditional attitudes and behavioural forms is "residual traditionalism" or a process of synthesis of the functional elements of tradition with modern complex, can be ascertained only over a period of time.

The rapid increase in agricultural productivity in Etawah District in 1958, or accelerated economic development in West Pakistan in 1960, did not show any major shift in values. Similarly, Elder's study of a U.P. village shows little else changed, even when farmers were double cropping their fields. The joint families have a higher yield than smaller family

[35]McClelland, David C., *The Achieving Society*, (Glencoe: The Free Press 1961), p. 17. Also see H. Cantril, *The Patterns of Human Concerns*, (Brunswick, N.J , Rutgers University Press, 1966), p. 3.

units is reported by Bailey and Ross.[36]

Thus a multilinear view emerges in which the traditional and modern may coexist at a point of time, not only as residual traditionalism, but because both serve the interests of those who benefit and, thus, value traditional set up.

In the transitory phase of modernization, the traditional and modern norms interact with each other and the resulting confrontation, adaptation, replacement or assimilation is determined by such factors as the historical past, cultural traditions and structural make up of a community. This is not to deny that the characteristic attributes of modernity are universal in nature. Yet the growth patterns of societies are particularistic in nature. There is no typical sequence of change as assumed by Myrdal.[37] He views radical change first in the value system of a society as essential to development. But the existential patterns of a modernizing society may show considerable technological advance without commitment to scientific world-view and rationality to all the problems of life. This kind of selectivity of approach is largely due to the developmental strategy in the countries of the Third World, which lays more emphasis on changing some sub-structures of a society on priority basis, most often the economic structure. The assumption implied in this approach is that economic modernization will automatically produce other attribute of modernity in due course of time. To what extent changes in a sub-structure lead to or are accompanied by changes in the larger social structure, need to be investigated.

The text that follows starts with an analysis of the 'initial

[36]Mayer, Albert, in collaboration with McKim, Marriot and R.L. Park, *Pilot Project India: The Story of Development of Etawah, Uttar Pradesh* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958); Joseph W. Elder, "Land Consolidation in an Indian Village: A Case Study in the Consolidation of Holdings Act in Uttar Pradesh," *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. XI, No. 1 (October, 1962) p. 16-40; Frederick G. Bailey, *Caste and the Economic Frontier* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1957); Martin H. Ross, *Family Organization and the Development of Agrarian Capitalism in a North Indian Village*, (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Wisconsion, 1968).

[37]G. Myrdal *op. cit.* p. 1901.

conditions' of the selected villages and the general features of the region in the immediate past, to interpret and understand the functional adaptations or otherwise of the traditional structures with the modernizing forces. This description provides a back drop for the analysis of individual innovativeness and its correlates.

CHAPTER TWO

Research Design and Methodology

The most general objective of planned change in rural India is to increase productivity by acceptance of modern technology in agriculture, the acceptance of which may be taken as a key indicator of modernization. It indicates a manifest behavioural change and is expected to have a wide impact on a rural culture in which agriculture is thought to be more a way of life than merely a way of making a living. Thus, apparently the sociology of a peasant society proceeds from the central force of economic foundation of the socio-cultural environment. Planned change has influenced rural social dynamics, but it has shown differential impact on villages within the neighbourhood of each other and having roughly similar constraints and facilities provided by the new development administration, distributive machinery, services and institutions. Not only are there inter-village differences, but also individual variations in response to alternatives provided for self-improvement. What crucial complex of factors enable a community or an individual to modernize more rapidly than others? This question provides the major focus of this study.

The study has been undertaken at two levels: inter-village comparison and inter-individual comparison for villages. At the inter-village level, the following variables are studied:

1. The population variables such as population size, age, literacy and education.
2. Social-structural variables such as caste, classes of land ownership and patterns of dominance.
3. Resource variables such as land, labour, cattle, machinery, means of transportation, etc.

4. Level of development in the use of agricultural input, improved implements and practices.
5. Cooperative ventures as completed community projects supported by voluntary participation and the role of leaders and dominant groups.

At the individual level, the objectives are to find correlates of innovativeness with:

1. Personal characteristics.
2. Family structure.
3. Economic setting.
4. Inter-systemic participation.
5. Attitudes.

Hypotheses to be Tested

The personal interview schedule was designed to gather data to test the hyphtheses stated below:

1. Innovativeness will directly vary with age, literacy and education of respondents.
2. A higher rate of innovativeness is more likely to come from families possessing the following characteristics:

    a. jointness
    b. large size
    c. a larger number of earners
    d. more members following non-farm occupations
    e. higher non-farm income
    f. higher education, and
    g. a higer proportion of literate members

3. The extent of adoption of innovations will vary with:

    a. size of land owned
    b. size of operational unit
    c. use of human, animal and machine power
    d. credit utilisation

4. The degree of innovativeness will vary with:

a. ritual status
b. material possessions or level of living
c. social participation

5. Acceptance of innovation will vary with:

a. contact with the city
b. exposure to mass media
c. contact with change agents
d. number of family members employed outside village
e. degree to which sought for opinion leadership advice

6. Innovativeness in agriculture is positively correlated with modern attitudes, such as:

a. belief in yield increase
b. willingness for increased inputs
c. commercial orientation
d. rational orientation
e. deferred gratification
f. secular orientation
g. empathy
h. educational aspirations and
i. economic pull.

Location and Selection of Sample and Tools of Inquiry

This study was undertaken in the district of Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh. Out of the sixteen Community Development Blocks into which the district was delineated, three were selected. In these three, the programme was started first. The major emphasis of the programme is on agricultural development which is also commensurate with time, energy and financial input, as well as with the national goal for increased production. The accepted criteria of "development" is adoption of modern technology in agriculture.

In each of the selected three Blocks the Village Level Workers were asked to name one village from all the villages in their circle which they would consider to be the "most developed". The Block Developmnnt Officer and the Agriculture Extension Officer were asked to give a similar rating. Those villages

receiving a similar rating by all the functionaries were selected. Where a different rating was given by the Block Officer and by Agriculture Extension Officer, the selection was made on a random basis. Thus the three most developed villages were selected in the three Blocks.

The Village Level Workers in whose circle the best village was located were asked to name the "least developed" village in his circle. This was done with a view to comparing two village communities in the neighbourhood of each other which share roughly similar amenities and facilities, are covered by the same organizations and, above all, are exposed to the existence of same modern technology promoted by the same extension agent. In all, a total of six villages were selected at the rate of two (one advanced and one low) from out of each of the three selected Blocks. They are villages Tiari and Dehia in Block Chakia, Chak and Mirdadpur in Chandauli, and Bhadwar and Panditpur in Kashi Vidyapith. The first of the pair of villages is the most-developed and the second as least-developed in the same Village Level Worker's circle. One of these three Blocks (Kashi Vidyapith) had a development period of more than 14-1/2 years, while the other two are about to complete 13 years. Since 1964 they are also covered under I.A.A.P. under which staff and other resources have been intensified.

The study was carried out in two phases. In the first phase, a village information schedule was canvassed to gather data on the village distance from important centres, available facilities and amenities, population, literacy, education, caste, occupation, irrigational sources, crop pattern, use of improved agricultural practices, level of community participation in village projects and state of new organizational set-up.

The above information was supplemented by information gathered in informal group discussions with knowledgeable persons, both officials and non-officials; as well as from secondary sources such as official, institutional records.

Officials VLW, Cooperative Supervisor, Seed Store Incharge of the Agriculture department, Panchayat Secretary, Village Lekhpal, AEO and BDO and the School Teachers.

Non-Officials Presidents of Village Panchayat, Cooperative Society, Caste Panchayat, Youth Club and other influential as also progressive cultivators and the Block Pramukh.

The second phase of the study is further divided into two stages. In the first stage, a list of all the households in each of the selected villages was prepared, and a household schedule administered to each head of the household. It has yielded information on family, size of household, age, sex, marital status, literacy and educational attainment of all the members; size of land held and sources of irrigation of the cultivating families; the extent of social participation in the village institutions and the amount of contact with the urban world by members of the family.

In the second stage of the study, a sample of one half of the total cultivating households was selected. The households were stratified according to caste and size of land holding in descending order. From this list one half of the households were selected by systematic sampling with equal probability. The minimum number which was selected from each caste group was two or the number available if it was less than that. Interviews were conducted with the head of the household to obtain more detailed information.

Scoring Technique

A. *Innovativeness:* based on the adoption score obtained from acceptance of modern agricultural practices. The score is given on the basis of number of years since an innovation was introduced. One point equals one year of use. For example, a person using HYV of paddy for one year will get one point while another who has been using it since its introduction (3 years before) will get a maximum of three points. Maximum score for each item are as follows. The scoring weight is given in the parenthesis.

Crops—HYV of Paddy (3) and wheat (3)
Fertilizers—Nitrogenous (14), Phosphatic (12) and Potassic (3).
Pesticides—Agrsan (5), BHC (5).

Implements—Iron Plough (14), Dibbler (8), and Thresher (3).
Cultural Practice—Line sowing (10).
Irrigation—Pump set/tube well owned (10). If hired, one point for each year of continuous use.

B. *Personal and Family Characteristics* are scored as follows:

1. *Age and education of the respondent and family education score*: Computed by giving one point for calendar years for the first and one point for every completed educational year by the respondent. Family education score is the sum of completed educational years by all the adults who are 21 years or older.
2. *Literacy:* Count for the family is the proportion of members who are able to read and write (self-designated).
3. *Type of family:* Husband and wife with only unmarried children qualifies as a single family. Married children, parents, unmarried and married brothers, sisters and other relatives staying with them is counted as joint-family.
4. *Size of the family*: The actual number of members.
5. *Number of earners*: The definition of earner is taken from the 1961 Census.

Non-farm occupation and Non-farm income refer to extra farm employment within or outside of the village. Income is the actual sum of money given back into the family. Only cash amount received by the family has been taken into account.

C. *Social Status*

1. *Caste:* Point for the four categories are: High castes (4), Peasant or cultivating castes (3), Artisan/service castes (2) and Low castes (1).
2. *Material possessions:* Scoring is done as follows:

   (i) *House:* Maximum score will be 10 distributed as no house nil, Hut 1, kutcha 3, Mixed 5, Pucca 7 and

Mansion as 10. One who has one pucca and one mixed will have only a 7 score. Thus in all those cases where a family owns more than one type of house, the higher category score will be given and the total score of any farm family will not exceed 10.

(ii) *Sources of Irrigation:* This being a very important item will have a possible 30 points depending upon the maximum acreage which can be irrigated by these sources. No source nil, kutcha well (2), Masonry well (5), Persian wheel (8), Pump set (15), Tube well (30). Those who irrigate their fields through State works and do not need to have such sources will be given points according to area assured to be irrigated by these sources. One acre of assured irrigated area will be credited with one score.

(iii) *Farm buildings:* In all 5 points-No cattleshed nil, kutcha (1), Pucca cattleshed (3), other farm buildings including storage godowns (2).

(iv) *Machinery and equipment*: The maximum score can be 30. One who has a tractor will be expected to own most of the other items and will therefore be alloted the maximum score. The item-wise scores will be as follows: Iron plough (3), Cultivator (2), Seed drill (3), Weeder (2), Chaff cutter manual (1), Bullock driven (2), Crusher (5), Flour mill (5), Rice huller (3), Oil expeller (2). Since it was not reported in any village, the bullock cart was deleted. The points have been alloted on the basis of total value of these items and their importance. No longer is a chaff cutter considered an item of pride. Today it is the possession of a thresher, or a tractor which immediately raises the status of the cultivators.

(v) *Livestock:* Every draught animal and milch cattle owned will be credited with one point. The maximum number of points is 10 for draught animals and 5 for milch cattle. A pair of goats and 5 sheep will be credited with one score each.

(vi) *Material possessions:* The maximum score will be 15 and one who owns a motor car or jeep for self use may be credited with that amount because he is

expected to own most of the other items included here. Other items will be scored thus: cycle (1) all others except scooter will receive 2 points for the first item and one point for each additional items owned. Thus if a family has two radio sets the credits will be 3 and not four. A scooter will be credited with 8 and a cycle with 2 points each.

3. *Social Participation:* A respondent is assigned 1 point for ordinary membership and 2 points for offices held, in the new organizational set up, viz., Panchayat, co-operative, youth club etc,
4. *Land and related aspects.*
   (i) *Size of Land owned:* Total number of acres owned by a cultivator, inside and outside the village.
   (ii) *Operational Unit:* The size of landholding owned after deducting land leased out and adding land leased in. The land given to attached labourers and permanent farm servants in lieu of labour services has been treated as land leased out.
   (iii) *Labour*: One point for each of the family members working on the land constitute family labour. Each permanent, attached or casual labourer hired is given 1 point.
   (iv) *Animal and mechanized power*: One score is given for every bullock and mechanized implement used.

D. *Inter-Systemic Participation* is measured as follows:

1. *Urban contact:* Number of visits to an urban centre in the past year. Each visit is given 1 point. If the purpose is for promotion of agriculture the score is doubled. An indirect measure of urban contact is the number of persons employed in the city.
2. *Exposure to mass media*: This is based on radio listening, newspaper reading or the gaining of newspaper information by being read to.
   One point each for daily practice, maximum (7), magazine reading (actual number) and movies seen (12). The score is doubled for preference given to information sought about agricultural item:

3. *Contact with change agents:* one point for each functionary known. One point is given for occasionally referring problems to change agents and two for frequent contact by either the respondent or change agent. An additional point is given for seeking technical advice regarding agricultural programmes.
4. *Opinion Leadership:* No scoring is undertaken. The persons are asked to nominate whom they consult for various decisions regarding agriculture and family planning.

E. *Attitudes*:

1. *Modern Attitude to Agriculture:* This refers to (i) one's belief in an increase in agricultural produce, (ii) willingness for increased input, (iii) commercial orientation and (iv) rational orientation. The first indicator is given progressive scoring as the respondent reports nearer to the actual yield increase that is realizable. Crops selected are wheat and paddy. Willingness for increased input is measured by asking the respondent if he would be prepared to cover a longer distance or to pay a higher price for (a) seed, (b) fertilizer, (c) pesticides, (d) plant protection equipment, (e) technical guidance and (f) irrigation water. Every item is given one point for an affirmative response.

   For what purposes would the increased yield from high yielding varities of crops be used? The answer to this may be for: (1) consumption only, (2) consumption and partly marketing and (3) mainly marketing, which may be calculated for commercial orientation. The belief in stars and not scientific recommendations is given 0 point while a mix of both is given 1 point. Following only scientific recommendations speaks of the rational orientation of the peasants, and thus gets 2 points.
2. *Deferred Gratification:* This refers to postponement of immediate consumption for productive investment bearing fruit in the long range. The question asked was: "If your income was to increase substantially, what would

be your order of preference for expenditure on the following items: Marriage and social ceremonies (0), purchase of items like jewellery (1), pay off old debts (2), construction of house (3), deposit in bank and investment in life insurance (4), purchase of land (5), increased input in agriculture and purchase of agricultural machinery (6), invest in irrigation project (7), and invest in education.

3. *Secular Orientation*
The secular or sacred orientation of respondents was based on a score of one for each of the secular oriented answers to the following questions:

(i) Whom do you have more respect for: an illiterate Brahmin or an educated Harijan?
(ii) Should the Harijans be allowed to: (a) draw water from any well, (b) enter temples and (c) let their children mix with higher caste children?
(iii) What causes disease: (a) evil eye, (b) spirits, (c) Karma or (d) unsafe drinking water, or insanitary living conditions?
(iv) Whom do you consult when some one is sick in the family: (a) quack, (b) priest, (c) homeopath, (d) doctor?
(v) Do you think the number of children one has depends on: (a) will of God, (b) fate, (c) oneself?

4. *Empathy*: Defined as the ability associated with a modern orientation by which an individual can take another's role and can describe what he would do in that capacity. The three roles selected are those within the experience of villagers under democratic decentralization. They are the role of village Pradhan, Block Pramukh and Adhyaksha of Zila Parishad. For simple empathy, one point is given, while ability to specify what the role taker would do in the new capacity carries two points.
5. *Economic Pull:* This is the detachment from family, viilage and caste norms regarding work in the wake of increased economic return from new job opportunities.

One point is given for accepting a more remunerative job in which each of the following "pulls" is present: leaving the village, going against wishes of the family members, working with low castes, doing manual labour and accepting a job traditionally followed by low castes.

Method of Analysis

Employing survey research methods, this study aimed at inferring generalizations not only to the population studied by a selected sample, but also to similar situations elsewhere. The purpose of analysis at the village level was to obtain single variable description as a background for individual differences in modernization. At the individual level, however, the relationship between more than one variable was attempted.

Study of planned social changes allows a rough before-after appraisal, especially if they were first initiated in the traceable past where records are available. In this sense some dimensions of human behaviour, observed after the inception of induced change, can be labelled as dependent variable, while variation can be arbitrarily attributed to those dimensions of human behaviour which are thought to determine independent variables. It is dangerous to attempt to establish causal relationships by such means. It is more interdependence than the "cause-effect" nature of variable relatedness. Yet, keeping in mind the chronological sequence in which planned social change first enters as a social force, this artificial division may be accepted.

Thus, acceptance of selected items has been taken as the index of innovativeness of an individual. Such acceptance is considered to be a dependent variable, analysed by simple correlation with a set of independent variables. The purpose is to establish associations between variables, as well as to attempt causal relationships.

Research method employed to analyse the empirical relationships among the variables is correlational. The basic measure of association utilized is the Pearsonion coefficient of correlation Y, which ranges from $+1$ to -1 (0 being no relationship at all).

Where academic perception or hypothetical expectation points to the strong intervention of a third variable, for example differences in level of living or education, the joint occurrence of two variables is examined by eliminating the effect of the intervening variable. Thus the partial correlation technique is employed to understand the nature of relationships between pairs of variables after eliminating the effect of a third intervening variable, which may be a suppressant.

The data for the study was collected during the field work which was divided into two phases. The work on first phase was started in July 1968 and completed by about middle of December of the same year. The second phase which was further broken into two stages was started in early January 1969 and completed by the end of May, 1969. The primary tabulation of field data was completed during the next two months. The computational analysis and interpretation of data was undertaken and completed during the course of stay at the East Lansing, Department of Sociology, Michigan State University, from the middle of September, 1969 up to the end of August, 1970.

CHAPTER THREE

Continuity and Change in the Power Structure

There is considerable factual evidence from different parts of the Indian rural society that the fruits of development are concentrated in a segment of rural population and are not shared by all. This pattern is related to the distribution of wealth, status and power in the socio-cultural environment at the time of the country's political independence. The caste system is the focal point in most attempts of social analysis of this society. Somewhat less understood is the overriding factor of land ownership and its political determinants which helped the metamorphosization of the social system. It is true that the upper castes are the main landholding castes and the lowest provide agricultural labour, yet there is more to consider than this simple classification of caste-based inequality. The structure of rural class relations, with land as its determinant, is a significant perspective in understanding dominance as a highly differentiated concept. The economic and political power may be found combined with caste based social status, or may be autonomous of it.

It is in the above context that caste alone fails to provide explanations for social stratification. The concept of class in the Marxist sense as an essentially conflict producing phenomena may not be applicable to the variety of Indian situations. However, its underlying criteria of property is useful in understanding social divisions based on ownership, control and use of land. The emphasis on studying this additional dimension of social relations is recent in sociological research.[1] In order

[1]For the applicablity and significance of Class analysis of rural

to break an economic institution which is perpetuating social inequalities and controlling juridical structure in terms of land rights, village settlements and offices, the Abolition of Zamindari is termed as a bold step in rural reforms. Though the system as such is abolished, it has not resulted in implementing measures for redistribution of land, securing rights for the tiller or defining the agrarian categories.[2]

It would be relevant to describe the scene before the Abolition of Zamindari in 1951 in the locale of this study. Looking at the pre-independence picture is essential because the past patterns of social, economic and political structure in the villages under study are strongly influencing the pace of change, as well as the distribution of the benefits of development among individuals and groups today.

The structure of social relations centering around the ownership, control and use of land have resulted in creating varying patterns of change. In one instance, the perception of the benefits of development and the presence of a dominant group having stake in it, may result in the total community's mobilization. In another, the matching strength of equal power groups may find expression in negative competition for pulling back the rival rather than diverting it into a competitive spirit for modernization. Still another situation may show concentration of land among disinterested owners who have extra-village sources of income and are apathetic to tenant-cultivated landed property. These owners retain land as a status symbol and extra source of income without labour. The village is a unique entity in this respect. It is shaped by those who inhabit it, by the relative power, strength and interest of those who own land and resources, and by their nature of relation with the mainstream of political and administrative authority. In this sense, caste is a supporting edifice for the material and political structure, though not necessarily a causative pheno-

society see: Andre Beteille, "Ideas and Interests: Some Conceptual Problems in the Study of Social Stratification in Rural India," *International Social Science Journal*, (Vol. XXI, No. 2, 1969). Also by the same author, *Caste, Class and Power: Changing Patterns of Stratification in a Tanjore Village*, (Bambay: Oxford University Press, 1966).

[2]Max F. Millikan, David Hapgood, *No Easy Harvest* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1967).

mena of rural social relations.

Tracing the political history of the eighteenth century Banaras region, Bernard Cohn describes how the Mughal rule fixed financial obligations at different levels for securing the state's share of rural produce. At the local levels, an indigenous chief was responsible for collecting money or a share of the crop from the peasants, artisans or traders. Made of innumerable such units was the regional system headed by a family or families answerable to the secondary level, comprising a major historical, cultural and linguistic region. At the top was the "imperial" level ruling through a loyal army and bureaucracy.

The payment for services to the royal head was made by fixing a specified share in the produce from the area under the jurisdiction of the officials at different levels. There were independent conquests in limited regions where a conquering group established its own rights to the collection of revenue. The expanding Mughal empire made it necessary for them to maintain their suzerainty by financing the imperial authority. This left them with sufficient freedom to exercise rights and privileges to fix local conditions. This class of "Zamindars" acted as intermediaries between the people and the authority.[3]

When the British appeared on the Indian scene, a Zamindar was not, formally at least, a property owner. The Mughals continued with the practice in which peasants paid a share of their produce to the king; a system prevalent even prior to their conquest. They had to necessarily rule and tax through native authorities. The size of the empire and difficulties in communication left much scope for power and rights to the Zamindars who were allowed to remain as long as reasonable revenue was paid. The British conferred formality and stability to the Zamindari system by accepting property rights of the Zamindar, while fixing nine-tenths of the revenue as the share of the state and the remaining one-tenth for the tax-collector. The "Permanent settlement" of such rights at the

[3]B. S. Cohn, "Political Systems in Eighteenth Century India: The Benaras Region," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (Vol. 82, no. 3, July-September, 1962). "The Initial British Impact on India: A Case Study of the Banares Region," *Journal of Asian Studies* (Vol. XIX, No. 4, August, 1960).

end of the eighteenth century retained its structure well into the middle of this century.

The British dream of prosperous cultivation through creation of an intermediate landlord class could not be realized. Comparing the Indian system with the Japanese feudal structure, two essential points of difference seem to contribute to differential productivity in the two systems.

Firstly, the Indian landlord seldom supervised the village affairs as long as his agents brought the desired revenue and maintained peace and order. The actual cultivation was left to the socially and physically isolated castes, who either did not benefit or lacked the means for increasing produce. The landlords "often preferred smaller returns, with less trouble and supervision, to standing over workers and trying to compel them to improve their ways."[4] The tiller of the soil was discouraged from extra effort as increased produce meant an extra share for the landlord. Besides this, he had to pay the customary wages for the services provided by service castes. In a more or less fixed division of labour, the services and agricultural labour was provided by lower castes, while shifts occurred in the power holding among the upper castes. The powerful caste derived its strength from economic control over land and stamped its status with increasing social distance from the people and land. The "settlement" of the revenue collection authority with rights in land, resulted in heightened insecurity for the peasant. Earlier, the state had the right to share of produce. Now the intermediary was authorized to right on the land. No matter what the conditions of work or the vagaries of nature, the fixed rent was to be paid by the tenant or else he risked confiscation. In this economic and political pyramid, the caste system provided the social values and determined the distribution of work, leisure and privileges, and status recognition.

[4]Barrington Moore, Jr., *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Domocracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966), p. 334. For a detailed ethnological and historical evolution of the Social and polito-economic structure of Indian Society, see Sir Percival Griffiths, *The British Impact on India.* (London: Macdonald, (1952) and B.B. Misra, *The Indian Middle Classes,* (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1961).

Secondly, the Japanese peasant, after paying a fixed tax which was assessed on the land, was able to keep the surplus. This system provided strong incentive to peasants to improve skill and techonology for producing as much as he knew he could and "try to produce a little more—that one extra koku of rice."[5]

A caste society based on social inequalities adjusted itself to the distortions introduced by new rulers. In the emerging system "the foreigner, the landlord, and the money lender took the economic surplus away from the peasantry, failed to invest it in industrial growth and thus ruled out the possibility of repeating Japan's way of entering the modern era."[6]

To undo the past injustices, independent India demonstrated remarkable will and determination in legally abolishing parasitic landlordism so that a new society based on social justice and democratic principles might emerge.

However, the zeal with which Zamindari Abolition Act was passed was not accompanied by the actual implementing of the transfer of rights to the tiller of the soil. The law left many loopholes for retention of land by non-cultivating owners. In Uttar Pradesh, before the Abolition of the Zamindari system, there were no-less-than forty different types of land tenures. The new tenures are classed into three, viz., Bhumidhari, Sirdari and Assami. The first refers to the home-farmed land permitted to be retained by former proprietors. On the payment of ten times of the rent, a tenant can acquire Bhumidhari right, after which the rent is reduced by half. While Bhumidhari rights are transferable and can be acquired by purchase, the Sirdari refers to the permanent and heritable rights to land as long as it is cultivated according to provisions of law by all those tenants of former proprietors, including sub-tenants and even trespassers in cultivating possession of a plot. These rights are not transferable. The third form of tenure refers to the sub-tenants for a limited period of indisposed Bhumidhars and Sirdars. Though large land concentra-

[5]For a detailed comparison of peasant characteristics and different cultural and political alternatives, see Kusum Nair, *The Lonely Furrrow: Farming in the United States, Japan ana India*, (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1969), p. 234.

[6]Barrington Moore, Jr., *op. cit.*, p. 346.

tions were abolished, the actual pattern of land ownership still permits non-cultivating owners to cultivate the land by share-cropping; that is by admitting a person on a holding and, for his assistance, paying him share in the produce. Baljit Singh rightly calls it "an irony that many hold land directly from the state either as owner or tenants without any participation in labour operations on the field and even with a taboo against touching a plough, while those who actually till or plough the fields have no land rights."[7]

In the absence of an effective ceiling on land and a precise definition of tenant categories, there has been no drastic change in the structure of class relations in this region. As a result, the fruits of development are not shared by all. The existing upper strata tend to be favoured. Till 1951, the Maharaj of Banaras was the "Zamindar" of the three districts of Banaras, Jaunpur and Mirzapur. He did not have the necessary administrative machinery to collect revenue directly from the people, so leaders of dominant groups who could extract revenue from the people, on the basis of tradition and force, were given royal grants of land. While these local groups agreed to realize taxes from the people and to pay a fixed amount of tax to the treasury of the Maharaj, they themselves acquired economic and political power, and, if not already possessing an ascribed high status, a higher position in the social hierarchy. As Srinivas puts it: "The political system favoured social mobility."[8] The amount of land owned by a caste group is the manifest indicator of its status, which may be supported by a high ritual rank but does not suffer from want of it.

In the foregoing introduction to the dominance pattern of the region under princely rule, the effort was to show how the political power was combined with economic and social dominance. To what extent the pattern generated by the inherited social environment affects the programmes for planned change may be analysed by community studies in terms of their economic, social and political structure. An inter-village comparison may help in establishing the relationship between com-

[7]Baljit Singh, *Next Step in Village India: A Study of Land Reforms and Group Dynamics*, (London: Asia Publishing House), p. 23.

[8]M.N. Srinivas, *Social Change in Modern India* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), p. 35.

munity characteristics and the level of development. It may be re-emphasized here that the term "development" has been used to refer only to technological advancement, especially in agriculture.

The analysis to follow begins with the description of each of three pairs of villages selected in terms of their location and a broad review of the social, economic and political scene. Here the most conducive and obstructing points in development will be highlighted. This is followed by inter-village comparisons in terms of village structure, village resources, use of modern agricultural technology, institutional development and cooperation.

First Pair of Villages

The first of the three pairs of the selected villages is located in Chakia Community Development Block of Varanasi District. In this Block, Tiari is the most developed village and in its neighbourhood and in the same village level circle lies Dehia—the least developed village at the time of enquiry. In order to reach these two villages from Varanasi, one has to cover first 11 miles on the Grand Trunk Road. Reaching Mughal Sarai one leaves the Grand Trunk and goes on the Mughal Sarai—Chakia road. The total length of this road is 18 miles at the end of which is Chakia, the Block headquarter. The villages are 4 miles from here, along Utraont Minor of Chandauli canal, the banks of which serve as roads too.

Tiari is marked by a flour mill at its entrance from where a mud road leads to the main village through low caste dwellings. Dehia lies almost opposite to Tiari, the boundaries of the two villages separated by the canal.

Tiari: has a total population of 364 persons living in 66 households, of which three fourth are joint in nature. The castes inhabiting the village can be divided into four categories. These are the Thakurs, the peasants consisting of Ahirs and Kurmis and the service castes—Lohar, Kahar and Teli followed by the Harijans. (Table 1).

In the caste hierarchy, the Brahmins are conspicuous by their absence. The ritually highest are the Thakurs, who are the original inhabitants. However, for all purposes they enjoy inferior status. None of their two male adults has had

any schooling. (Table 2). Though per capita land owned by them is the largest (Table 3) it is poorly managed. A substantial portion of their holding is cultivated on a contract locally known as 'Kut' basis. This explains the question as to why they have not invested in the creation of irrigation facilities, purchase or use of modern implements or at least owning the required amount of bullock power (Table 4). Neither they own a radio nor listen to it when played by others. Their urban contact is very limited. None of them could name the VLW or any other change agent. Thus, their ritual status does not make them the community's elite in any sense. Naturally, none of the repondents nominated Thakurs as opinion leaders for consultation or advice regarding problems in agriculture, social affairs or family planning.

In this region as a whole, the Ahirs consider themselves as superior to Kurmis, their claim rests on being the direct descendents of Lord Krishna. But in Tiari they do not assert this because of the numerical and economic dominance of Kurmis. Of their ten male adults, as many as 8 had never been to school. With a total population of 39, divided into seven households, they have only nine acres of cultivated land, the per capita land owned being only 0.2 acres. They have five and a half pairs of bullocks. Though this is more than double the bullock power required to man their total holding it may be noted that three families have only one bullock each while one family had no bullock. Thus their small holdings on the one hand and their poor resources on the other have not allowed them to make use of modern tcchnology. They do not have any subsidiary occupation or any non-farm income. None of the Ahirs had consulted the VLW or any other change agent during the last one year nor made any visit to any city except for religious purposes. Thus, as in the case of Thakurs, none of the Ahirs was nominated as opinion leader, by any one, not even by their caste men.

A century and a quarter ago, two families migrated to Tiari, who made the highest bid for the realisation of land revenue. They were appointed by the Maharaj of Banaras as contractors for collection of land revenue for this and the two neighbouring villages. These families claimed to belong to the same lineage of the martial Gujrati race who stayed on in this

region, even when the Maratha forces retreated, following battle near Mughal Sarai and subsequent defeat at the hands of Mughals. These soldiers settled at the foot of the Vindhya range and today they are found inhabiting villages in a belt of about 25 miles extending into the state of Bihar. They call themselves "Pattanwar". Since this name had no reference in the local nomenclature of castes, they got the name of "Pattanwar Kurmi". The suffix explained the occupation they followed. The local name for the peasant caste is "Kurmi". But kurmis do not share physical features or social customs with the newcomers who have symbols of martial race preserved even today; such as that of presenting a sword to the son-in-law at the time of marriage. This is more a Kshatriya characteristic than a peasant one.

The original inhabitants who were Thakurs, Lunias and Doshads, resented the new comers. Occasionally there were clashes resulting in damage to property, standing crops etc. Consequently, the realisation of rent posed problems. The Pattanwars started confiscating the land at the smallest pretext and brought it under their direct possession and started cultivating it themselves.

Being self-cultivators of a sizeable amount of land, they found the land revenue contract rather unprofitable besides being bothersome and were no more interested in such contracts. As a result, the Thakurs and the Brahmins of the neighbouring villages came forward to take the contract. The new contractors brought another Pattanwar family into the village along with some Ahirs and one Teli family. Since this Kurmi family happened to be the tenant of the new contractor it was given a sizeable chunk of land (32 acres). Then came the "Settlement" of 1926 popularly known as "Deputy Ka Bandobast". It abolished the realization of land revenue on a contractual basis. When permanent settlement was brought into effect another Pattanwar family migrated to this village in the hope of getting some land on a permanent basis. Since most of the land was already allotted, this family was given land partly in this village and partly in the neighbouring two villages.

The Kurmis' hunger for land never ceased. They were multiplying in number and matching this increase with the

purchase of land from others. The following figures give an idea about the amount of land purchased by the Kurmis since the settlement of 1926.

Amount of land purchased by *Kurmis*

Kurmi Family	*Acres owned in 1926*	*Acres purchased since 1926 in district*		*Acres owned Presently*
		Varanasi	*Mirzapur*	
1st	60	49	—	109
2nd	60	25	170	255
3rd	34	23	—	57
Total	154	97	170	421

Presently, the bulk of the village land is cultivated by Kurmis. The per capita figures do not tell about the economic position of a family or caste group. In Tiari, Kurmis as a group not only hold the largest share, they own the best land. Three big Kurmi cultivators own more than half of the total land. Three-fourth of the total land is concentrated in 13.6% of the families—all Kurmis. It may be noted that the land given on lease by the Kurmis is for attached agricultural laboures and not on sharecropping basis. Thus the Kurmis manage and supervise cultivation of land themselves with the help of hired labour, whom they helped migrate to the village in two batches by offering them regular employment for the whole family on wages and other facilities mutually agreed. It is important to note that while they have left most of the agricultural operations to hired labourers they are quite skilled in the art of cultivation and are always ready to do any manual labour themselves. To quote a Kurmi "If you want the best from your land and labour, you should personally take lead in every operation, with labourer only following your commands".

They constitute about three-fourth of the literate population of the village. Two-third of all the male literates and 93 percent of the female literates in the village are from this caste. Each of their thirtythree male adults who are the chief

decision makers has had at least five years of schooling with about 40 percent having passed grade nine and above. Their highest educational attainment is a bachelor's degree.

The Kurmis command over land and labour, the two important means of production and their educational attainment has helped them manage their farms quite efficiently and on scientific lines. All of the nine pumpsets both diesel and electric, belong to them as do the iron ploughs, electric and bull driven chaff cutters, the cane crushers and threshers, motor cycles, the only tractor and a jeep car. As a group they alone employ 40 of the 43 attached farm labourers. They also have the largest number of bullocks and milch cattle. One of them has installed an electric driven cane crusher, a flour mill, a rice huller and an oil expellor.

By mechanising the farms and entrusting the manual operations to attached and other hired labourers, the Kurmis have the opportunity to devote their time and attention to non-farm occupations, visiting urban centres, establishing contacts with officials and change agents and getting acquainted with new development outside the village. They combine cultivation with money-lending, trade in foodgrains and other agricultural commodities both in the village and in the city of Varanasi where they have set up a commission agency. They also sell water from their pumpsets. In fact whatever brings profit attracts their attention. They have even taken to such taboo occupation as "Poultry keeping." This is considered a highly polluting job, followed till now by the very low castes.

Their educated youth are entering service, the teaching profession and business. Enterprising young men having attained technical education, have set up repair shops for the equipment used in the village. Some have taken to the boring and drilling of wells. Most of them commute the distance between the village and the place of their work at fixed interval since their families are stationed behind. The non-farm income which they earn is brought to the village to be invested in agriculture, and improvement of their standards. It may be noted that their houses are electrified and fitted with electric fans etc. The most memorable display of their status and pride was a procession witnessed by the author. The Pradhan's daughter-in-law after giving birth to a son returned to the

village in a jeep car flanked by five motor cycles owned and driven by young Kurmi boys.

Diversification of occupational pursuits, higher educational attainment and aspirations, and application of modern technology to agriculture requires Kurmis to have a very intensive urban contact. Atleast one member from each of the fourteen families may be visiting some urban center daily for one or the other purpose. In addition some elderly members visit the neighbouring township of Chakia daily to exchange news of importance with members of their caste from other villages, thus maintaining extra-village horizontal solidarity. On their way back they bring the newspaper which is read to other members at night, or next morning. Earlier the village was provided with one community listening set which was tuned for the benefit of villagers every day. Now every Kurmi family has a radio or a transistor set and they listen to 'Krishi Jagat Programme' regularly. Two Kurmis were sponsored by the Block for a visit to an agriculture exhibition organised by Pantnagar Agricultural University. Their contact with change agents, particularly with the VLW and the AEO, is very intensive. Each one of them know the VLW by name and he was quite informal in his dealings with them.

The village has a youth club, run primarily by the Kurmi youth. Organisation of sports, dramas and plays and popularisation of kitchen gardening and other improved agricultural practices are its main activities. The club has its own funds raised through collection, some grant from the village panchayat and compulsory membership fee. It has a library and a reading room. Its annual function on 'Vijay Dashmi' is supposed to be attended by every member including those stationed outside the village. Besides exchanging new ideas sponsored by the development departments of the Government, new avenues of employment and occupation are suggested to the youth entering the labour force. In one meeting, projects such as manufacture of fountain pens and setting up of a plastic industry, which do not require large capital and have substantial employment and market potential, were discussed. The idea of taking up boring and drilling of wells as an occupation was also suggested by this club.

There is no ambiguity in the power structure of Tiari. The

dominance of Kurmis which was gained under a princely state, has been successfully maintained under democratic auspices. The organisational set up created after Independence to promote community participation and a sense of involvement, has the important offices and a majority of the membership vested in Kurmi caste members. In fact, the statutory village panchayat president is the head of Kurmi caste council. Thus there is little differentiation in the functions of the caste council and village council. They are the economic dominants as well as the power elites of the community. The head of the village and Kurmi caste council was nominated as opinion leader by every respondent.

Next to the peasants are six families which belong to service and artisan castes. These are Lohar, Kahar and Teli. The first two render direct services to the peasants and receive customary services at the time of harvest. They do not have land. Teli own about five acres. They combine agriculture with shop-keeping. With their attention concentrated on shop-keeping, which is their main occupation, they are not interested in improving their agriculture. This is evident from the fact that they neither adopt any new practices nor own modern implements. Their knowledge regarding cultivation leaves much to be desired. In fact, while answering the questions by this researcher, they had to seek the help of their hired labourers. This shows that their interest in land is secondary.

The Harijans were brought to this village initially by the Kurmis who needed hired labour which was locally not available. The migrants were offered regular employment on an attached basis and sites for dwelling. At present they are the most numerous caste, living in 35 households and constituting 44 percent of the village population. Usually a whole Harijan family is attached to a Kurmi household. The men plough the field, the old and the very young look after the cattle, and women make cowdung cakes and clean the cattle sheds etc. Being illiterate and having no contact with the world outside, they have no bargaining power and have to accept the conditions offered by their employers. Due to a strong sense of brotherhood among the Kurmis a Harijan

labourer dismissed by one cultivator will not be employed by another.

While Kurmis attach a great deal of importance to literacy and education and force it on their young ones, both male and female, they have purposely not cooperated with the authorities in the opening of a primary school in the village. They do not want Harijans to have access to education. When the members of the Youth Club proposed a primary school for the village, their elders snubbed them by pointing out the implications of education, the awakening that it will lead to, and the resultant consequences when the Harijans may either stop working for Kurmis or demand higher wages and better conditions of work. It is mainly because of this inherent fear and to reduce their dependence upon hired labour that they are fast mechanizing their farms. It may be noted that out of a total Harijan population of 160 only 8 persons are literate. None of their females has had any schooling.

There is complete segregation of Harijans. Their dwellings are located in one compact block on the south. It is believed that the wind mostly blows towards the south, so the high castes would not be exposed to the wind polluted by the 'Untouchables.' When rumours of severe punishment for practicing untouchability reached this village, the Kurmi caste council purchased two steel pots, gave them to Harijans and instructed them to draw water from the well used by the clean castes in the presence of officials as and when they visited the village. The steel being considered immune to pollution, would preserve the sacredness of their well.

The high caste Thakurs are indifferent to agriculture. The other land owning households, do not have the necessary means to carry out improvements on land, so only the Kurmis who have complete control over land and labour have progressed rapidly. They have strong social solidarity among themselves. At the marriage of any Kurmi girl, every family offers atleast one meal to the bridegroom's party. The decisions made by the Kurmi caste council are religiously followed by one and all. Once an idea is conceived, it is translated into action by pooling all their resources. For example, a serious drought resulting from the absence of rain and therefore the drying up of the rainfed irrigation system, induced them to

acquire a more assured means of irrigation. The Kurmis decided to get the village electrified so as to enable them to install tubewells/pumpsets. They filed an application, followed it up and succeeded in getting the facility without much of bureaucratic delays. The village was electrified in October, 1967 and the first pumpset was installed soon thereafter.

Electrification of the village gave the economy a new boost. Cultivation of wheat was unknown till 1967. Now it is grown on 55 acres—all under high yielding varieties. Earlier, only paddy maturing in six months was sown. Now a substantial area is covered under early maturity high yielding varieties like TN-I and IR-8, which is being followed by wheat in the rabi season. Some of the area is also being placed under summar paddy—a practice which was earlier not known in the village. With four pumpsets providing assured irrigation to one fourth of the net sown area, and another five soon to be commissioned to cover the remaining area that could be brought under rabi crops, Tiari is well on its way to prosperity. The introduction of fast mechanisation required to complete various agricultural operations for the next crop in a three-crop-calender (Summar paddy followed by early paddy followed by wheat or vegetables), the tremendous increase in inputs particularly the use of chemical fertilizers and insecticides, and fast means of marketing the produce by hired trucks, have all contributed to its development.

The level of higher development of Tiari can be explained in terms of its caste, economy and power structure. Firstly, the major land owning group is a well knit peasant caste which is very responsive to the innovations offered under modern agricultural technology. Secondly, a large section of the population provides the necessary labour so essential for agriculture. Thirdly, the economic dominants, are the power elites too, without any rival in the community. As a result they are better able to get community's support. Thus it is a society of balanced inequalities continued from the traditional past to adaptations to modern purposes.

Dehia: Dehia shares its facilities and constraints with Tiari, but its performance is far below that of its neighbour. There are 271 persons living in 40 households, belonging to Brahmin, Peasant, Nai and Harijan castes. (Table 5) The Brahmins

have successfully transferred their traditional hold on village affairs into the new democratic set-up. Under the Zamindari system, a Brahmin was the agent for collection of revenue. Over time, he came to own sixteen acres of land in the village which he never owned before. At present there are two families of the same parentage. While playing an active role in the village politics, the Brahmins have not responded favourably to the modern agricultural techniques. Half of their land is leased out, the rest is cultivated through an attached permanent labour engaged by each family. None of the Brahmin male adults has had any formal schooling.

The Koiris have emerged as a rival caste to the Brahmin dominance. As tenants of the Maharaj of Banaras, they paid land revenue to the Brahmin agent. In the new set-up, they are not answerable to any intermediary. Always economically autonomous, they are the new aspirants for political office in democratic village organizations for which they have contested in all the elections held so far.

With a population of 73 persons, in five households joint in nature, the Koiris constitute one third of the voters. Half of them are literate, forming 42.7 percent of all literates in the village, (Table 6). Seven of the eleven female literates are also from Koiris. Seven males have read upto intermediate level of education. The educated among the Koiris do not make a bee-line for the city. They remain in the village and since there are no inhibitions regarding manual labour, they work, supervise, and help in the actual tilling of soil. Thus their education pays off in the modernizing of their agriculture. Of the twenty earners the two engaged in service outside the village maintain a constant contact with their families and send back part of their income to be invested in land. Originally coming as tenants to this village, the Koiris now own two-third of the total land owned by residents in Dehia. (Table 7). Since land pays immediate dividends to these tillers of the soil, their first choice in items of investment is purchase of land. Along with acquisition of land, they invest in all the production increasing devices in agriculture. The first and the only ones to accept modern agricultural technology, they have the maximum concentration of both human and non-human resources (Table 8). The only electric pumping set is owned by

them. Thus a progressive outlook and a tradition in cultivation enabled them to modernize on the economic front. They have ambition to gain control over political office in the Panchayati Raj structure, though these efforts have been frustrated by the older power elite of high caste. There is weak social solidarity among the Koiris themselves, due to which they have not been able to put up a united front, nor are they able to get support from other low castes.

The third caste group is of Nais-living in two large house holds. Of the eight earners, half are engaged in service outside the village. All are engaged in their traditional occupation too. Their interest in land is secondary. One third of their land is cultivated by the tenants on share-crop basis. Content with whatever is available from it along with their earnings from traditional occupation, the Nais have been indifferent to programmes of economic betterment offered by planning machinery. They are however, very active in the new political process generated by democratic decentralization. They have cast their lot with the Brahmin Pradhan whom they vote for as their opinion leader.

The last, but the largest, group is of 'Harijans', with 68 percent being landless and the rest owning meagre holdings. However, every fifth Harijan is literate. Half of all the literate male adults have read beyond ninth grade. They can also boast of the only graduate in the village being from their caste. Education is valued as an instrument for entry into the outside world. Since there is little scope of improving their status in the local community, they feel that the only alternative for them is to equip themselves with education and seek better life chances in the world beyond the village. In Dehia, as elsewhere, the Harijans being dependent on the land owning castes for employment, loan and other forms of patronage, become political supporters of their benefactors during elections. The faction leaders understand their importance as political heavyweights.

After the U.P. Panchayat Act in 1949, this village was clubbed with two other villages for establishing a statutory panchayat. Three members represented this village: a Brahmin, a Koiri and a Harijan. In the year 1956, when the village was to have a separate Gram Panchayat, the first election was

held. The seeds of politicization of all sections of the community dates back to that event. For the first time the entrenched, traditionally powerful Brahmin leaders confronted a rival in the Koiris. The latter being economically autonomous became aspirant for political office under the democratic set-up. Brahmins sensed the significance of the numerical strength of the low castes and have successfully manipulated to get their support as well as created deep misunderstandings between the ascending Koiri caste and the Nais and Harijans. Politics makes for strange bed-fellows. The Brahmin-Nai-Harijan alliance has defeated the Koiri candidate in 1956 and 1961.

The continuing strength of a Brahmin leader has not been conducive to the economic growth of Dehia. The reason being that any programmes of economic benefit are bound to favour the Koiris. The Brahmins have never been enthusiastic about agriculture. They have never produced as much as they should, from land. Nais are equally indifferent and the Harijans are powerless in the agrarian structure. Thus modern agricultural technology has no relevance for them. The village Pradhan is lukewarm to the propagation of scientific ideas or spreading information about available facilities under developmental schemes. He is, however, spending a great deal of time and energy in accentuating differences between individuals and groups.

At the time of enquiry four litigation cases were being fought in the village. In one case. the village Pradhan had filed a law suite for trespass on public property by a Koiri. The leading Koiri family installed an electric pumping set in a drinking water well claimed to be constructed by it. The Pradhan argues that the land on which it is constructed belongs to the Gaon Samaj. Earlier the Pradhan had agreed for the construction. Two other legal disputes have arisen between Harijans and a Koiri over the site of a house. The Koiri have a dispute with Nais too over a bamboo plot. In all these cases, the Brahmins support the Nais and Harijans and thus ensure political support from them in return.

The village scene is marked with mutual jealousies and rivalries. The only community project ever undertaken was a drinking water well. The village as a whole continues to

suffer from a major handicap on account of absence of assured means of irrigation with the exception of one Koiri household. This problem was faced by the neighbouring village also. Tiari, at a stone's throw met the challenge by a network of singly and jointly owned pumping sets as a result of which the best part of the cultivated land is under assured means of irrigation and both kharif and rabi crops are irrigated. Dehia continues to suffer due to lack of altruistic leadership and apathy to the development of land by three of the four castes living in it.

The picture that emerges from the description of Dehia shows three significant developments, some of which are themselves the products of planned changes. Firstly, the traditional power of an entrenched caste is questioned by an ascending caste. Secondly the traditional influential is able to return his power in the democratic set-up though constantly faced with rival caste aspirants who are an autonomous force. Thirdly there is more politicization of the village community in which factions, not caste play a significant role. The village leadership is not progress oriented and therefore development takes a back seat in Dehia.

Second pair of Villages

The second pair of selected villages lies 27 miles from Varanasi, in Chandauli Community Development Block. Chandauli is a railway station on the grand chord of the Eastern Railway and is directly located on National Highway No. Two, popularly known as G.T. road. The villages are at a distance of seven miles in the southeast of Chandauli, the first two and a half miles are to be covered on the Chandauli—Dharauli road and another three and a half miles on the Chandauli Canal road. After that one is to turn left and go along Naini Minor and branch off on the right at the seventh furlong. River Chandraprabha encircles the more developed village—Chak, located immediately across the river. Mirdadpur, one of our slow moving villages is in its neighbourhood but one can reach it direct from Chandauli canal without crossing the river, thus it has a better approach.

Chak: Barely a decade and a half ago, one had to wade through the Chandraprabha in order to reach Chak. The

river was responsible for this community's social and physical isolation. On account of difficult approach to the village and its situation on a high elevation, it was not considered very fit for settlement. Thus only those who could make the best use of the river came to settle here. The Mallah (fishermen and boatmen) were attracted by fish, the Malis (gardners) sought a suitable piece of land for horticulture, the Ahirs (cowherds) found it fit for dairying and Harijans came to provide services. The last to settle in the village were the Thakurs who functioned as the agents of the zamindar. Initially Thakur agents managed the village affairs by remote control from a village five miles away. They would visit the village at the time of harvest, collect rent, settle disputes if any and go back. Inability to pay the agreed rent deprived the peasant of his land which eventually passed on to the agent. This way they acquired a substantial amount of land in the village which encouraged them to shift here and take interest in its cultivation. It is interesting to note that at the time of Zamindari Abolition, while the Zamindar did not own even an acre, his agent came to possess one fifth of the village land.

The Thakurs with 38 members living in two joint families (Table 9) have the maximum social, economic and political concentration. There is congruence between their landownership and high caste rank. The maximum number of literates in the village are from this caste (Table 10). Each of their male adults is literate, the maximum educational attainment being intermediate. Their land is fully irrigated by state canals in the kharif season and 62 percent of it is provided with assured irrigational facilities in the rabi season through electric operated pump sets, which they were the first ones to install in this village. Large scale use of improved agricultural practices and modern agricultural implements has helped them modernise their agriculture. One of the Thakur cultivators was adjudged a model farmer and awarded an iron plough for achieving a record yield per unit of area in sugarcane in the year 1959-60 at a district level competition. The agricultural innovations offered under the planned change programme have caught their imagination. With assured means of irrigation, they have been able to respond to and adopt these innovations on a larger portion of their land. The local varieties of wheat have been

completely replaced by high yielding ones, one of them had sown as many as six such varieties. The two radio sets in the village belong to the Thakurs. Most villagers gather in the evenings to listen to the 'Krishi Jagat' programme and linger on to discuss its contents. No regular newspaper or magazine is subscribed to by any individual but they purchase them when they visit the town, such visits being quite frequent. On an average, atleast one or two members from each family visit neighbouring towns two to three times a week and the city of Varanasi once a week. The purpose of such visits may be purchase of agricultural inputs, sale of agricultural produce, repair and servicing of machines, attending block or district level meetings etc. One Thakur has been the president of the village council since the inception of the Gram Panchayat, always unanimously elected. Other members of this caste have held important offices in the management of the cooperative society since its establishment.

The Ahirs, traditionally engaged in stock raising and dairying, have now accepted cultivation as the main occupation, though they still combined the former with it. However, the land owned by them is only 3.7 acres per family, the total being 51 acres among 14 families (Table 11). Thus most of the Ahirs are in the category of marginal and small farmers little equipped to invest in the improvement of land (Table 12). Though some of them have accepted a few innovations they are restrained from adopting more of them due to inadequate irrigational facilities in the rabi season. Being a witness to the revolutionary changes in the yield levels recorded by the Thakurs and Mallah, they too have been inspired to overcome their handicap by joining hands. Two of them have submitted an application for a jointly owned pumpset.

In 1954 none of the Ahirs was able to read and write whereas at the moment 20 percent of them are literates, while three have passed one or the other grade above ninth standard, their highest educational attainment being at par with the Thakurs. Since land fails to support them fully, the educated youth have sought employment in the neighbouring town. They commute the distance between the village and their place of work. The non-farm income has helped their

families to go in for proposed installation of pumping set on a joint basis.

The Ahirs have a strong sense of social solidarity. Their caste panchayat is very effective and its head commands the respect and loyalty of all the members. He has been representing his caste in the Gram panchyat since its inception, thus ensuring the cooperation and willingness of his caste in the projects of common benefit to the community.

With the construction of the dam on the river, fishing and ferrying having been adversely affected, the Mallahs have come to depend on land. Living in joint families their average household consists of ten persons. Like the Ahirs they too were illiterate before 1954. At present twenty of their ninety members are literate. Their boys are studying at various levels of schools and one has joined college.

Together they own about 38 acres of land, the average holding per household being 4.2 acres. However, seven of them have a holding below this average and one third have a holding of less than 2.5 acres. The small size of their holdings has not deterred them from modernising their agriculture. Seven of them have pooled their resources, obtained loans from the Land Development Bank on a joint basis and installed three electric pumpsets. The driving force behind this cooperative action is the guidance of the village Pradhan. The assured irrigation for the rabi season has resulted in significant changes in their cropping pattern. Location of their fields just adjacent to those of Thakurs have the benefit of practical demonstration for them. They also maintain continuous contact with them by listening to radio, newspaper or magazines at their place and exchanging political news. The village Pradhan has been nominated as an opinion leader for advice on agriculture and education by each of the Mallah respondents. The official change agents are also known by name to them, especially by the owners of pumpsets who have intensified demands for modernising agriculture. Their ready cooperation and participation in the community projects undertaken in the village has been highly appreciated by the Gram Pradhan.

Next to Ahirs and Mallahs are Malis who have a population of 72 persons living in five joint households. Compared to complete illiteracy in the year 1954, one fifth of them are now

literate with one having passed high school. They too have shifted from their traditional occupation of raising orchards to cultivation of land. The total land owned by the Malis is only 19 acres, the average size of holding per house hold being less than four acres. As in the case of Mallahs the small size of holdings has not discouraged them from investing in the improvement of land. Two of them have pooled their resources and jointly installed a pumpset. After covering their own needs of irrigation they sell water to others too. Thus the Malis have accepted many of the innovations offered, such as high yielding varieties, multiple cropping, use of chemical fertilisers, pesticides and modern agricultural implements.

Like other castes, the Malis too nominate the village Pradhan as their opinion leader and recognise his expertise in agriculture and dedication to village welfare. Their contact with the change agents keeps them in touch with modern ideas. Thus they cooperate with both the formal and the informal leaders extending participation in projects of community development.

The only Teli household in the village has a holding of four acres of land. He too has invested in electric pumpset and has accepted most of the new practices in agriculture.

A Gandharva family with 13 acres of land is the only land owning family which has not made any effort to improve. It is said that this family consists of descendants of a woman who was a keep of a former zamindar. The child born of their union (the villagers refer to it as Gandharva) was not recognised by the Zamindar but he protected the woman and the child by giving them land and a house for dwelling. Naturally with no tradition in cultivation, this family hardly takes any interest in land. With an indefinite status they get discouraged from taking active part in the village affairs.

The last but numerically the largest group is of the Harijans. They live in 18 households of which 14 are nuclear. Twenty two percent of them are literate. Education is emphasised as the possession of land by them is very meagre. Together they own only 19 acres of land shared by 14 families thus living much below the poverty line with only one fifth of an acre per person, the Harijans eke out a living by offering themselves as agricultural labourers. Even in an advanced modernis-

ing community there has not been any change in the position of Harijans. They watch the drama of modernisation standing as spectators and not participants.

The socio-economic structure of Chak shows interdependent caste groups with agriculture as the primary occupation. The land owning groups are also cultivating the land, thus have a stake in it. The bigger cultivators have not only modernised their farms, they have also encouraged the smaller ones to jointly own expensive farm equipment. The increment in education among all groups in the village is proving to be helpful in the written culture of modern agriculture. Thus modern technology proves to be neutral to the size of land holding.

In the power structure of this community, Thakurs have no political rival. The leadership of this caste has been maintained due to their development oriented policies with benefits confined not only to themselves but distributed over the wider population. The Thakur village Pradhan and other members of his caste used their resourcefulness, political influence and contacts with the development administration to get assistance for a number of useful community projects. On the other hand they have been able to earn the confidence of opinion leaders of different caste groups, and through them the cooperation and participation of the community. The following are some of the examples of some such community efforts.

Realising the importance of means of irrigation, the first ever community project was to ensure availability of water to all parts of the village. Till the mid-fifties masonry wells were the only source of irrigation. These covered only 10 to 12 acres. Thus only kharif crops (mainly rain-fed) could be raised. The area under rabi crops was negligible and wheat cultivation was almost unknown. In 1954-55, a portion of the village was covered by a state canal. The remaining area was brought under the canal system in the year 1961-62. On both the occasions the villagers showed remarkable initiative and cooperation in the construction of water courses by themselves. One member of each beneficiary household participated in the project to help in the construction of the required length of water channels. The land for this purpose was willingly parted with. There was no resistance from any one. The continuing interest

of the villagers has been responsible for the maintenance of these channels.

As said before, the canal system was rain-fed and was effective only for the kharif season. In the absence of any provision for irrigation of rabi crops only very little area could be sown more than once. Thus the main cropping pattern followed was late maturity paddy followed by 'khesari' an inferior pulse. It was a subsistance economy.

From 1963 to 1967 there were a series of dry spells leading to failures of even kharif crops. In 1966 the agriculture department introduced TN-I variety of paddy. The change agent persuaded the Pradhan to give it a trial. To their surprise the villagers discovered that while the local varieties withered in the dry spell, the new seeds stood it well. Thus two realisations struck the residents of Chak. The first was that they must switch over to new seeds and secondly, the creation of assured irrigation facilities throughout the year could no longer be postponed.

Thus it was decided to procure electricity for agricultural purposes. The major initiative was taken by the Pradhan who made frequent visits to the Hydel department, as well as sought help of the higher level political leaders. They were advised to form a cluster of pumpsets so that the cost of energisation be shared among the different cultivators.

The Thakurs started persuading other cultivators to have their pumpsets installed in their wells and to apply for their energisation. But in view of very small holdings and poor financial conditions they could not conceive of such projects. They were afraid to raise loans from the Government. They felt that if they failed to repay the loans their land would be confiscated. The Thakurs tried hard and with the help of change agents succeeded in persuading Mallah and Mali cultivators to install pumpsets on joint basis. Since application for loan etc. was to be made in the name of one person who alone was to be responsible to the Government, the task became all the more difficult. At this point the Pradhan played a very commendable role by working out the details of agreement to the satisfaction of all the parties. As a result five pumpsets were installed in the year the village was electrified, three of these were jointly owned. This example

was emulated by others in the successive years. This could be listed as the most important achievement of the village and could serve as a model for Indian peasantry mainly composed of small and marginal farmers.

The availability of assured irrigation water has helped farmers change their cropping pattern and achieve record yields. In the words of the Pradhan: "one time deficit Chak can now feed as many as ten Chaks".

Another example of village cooperation was the spanning of Chandraprabha. Untill 1961 one had to wade through the river to reach Chak. A challenge to construct a bridge across the river was thrown by a visiting popular political leader, Shri Raj Narain. The Pradhan took it up since he knew that every villager considered it as his felt need and would willingly participate. The enthusiasm of the people in virtually pushing the huge stones into the river bed for raising pillars was thought to be an act of madness by the neighbouring villagers. But when the bridge was completed within 15 days of labour from each family in the first year and seven days in the second year, it was hailed as a fine example of community effort.

In the chain of such efforts it is noteworthy to mention the construction of a primary school. Since every one felt the need of a school, the Zila Parishad was approached to obtain the sanction. The officials agreed to sanction the school and extend financial assistance for construction of school building, provided the village donated the land for it and also contributed labour for construction of its building. The Thakurs offered to part with a portion of their cultivated land. Half of it was donated by them and for the remaining half they charged a nominal amount by way of compensation. This was readily paid by all the villagers within a week of its decision. In contradistinction to this, the Kurmis of Tiari opposed the decision of their own youth for opening a school in the village lest it may benefit the Harijans.

It would not be out of place to mention that Thakur leadership in Chak is founded not on their high ritual status (though that helps) but on the successful advocacy of agricultural innovations, cooperative ventures and radical political power, the basis of which is not exploitation but cooperation.

The pattern of modernisation of Chak shows firstly, the widest diffusion of agricultural innovations accompanied by development of Community consciousness. Secondly, its agrarian structure does not have the category of tenants. The owners are mainly the tillers of the soil or get it cultivated under their direct supervision. Thirdly, small cultivators have overcome their handicap imposed on account of the small size of their holdings, by joint ownership of agricultural assets and equipment. Fourthly, the aspirations and willingness of the community to modernise is symbolised in its leaders' attitudes who reflect the norms of the community they represent.

Mirdadpur: Mirdadpur is the smallest of the selected villages. As compared to Chak in its vicinity, it has a better approach since it lies on the outer side of the Chandraprabha loop. It has a common gaon sabha, cooperative society, educational, health and developmental institutions/agencies with Chak. There are only two castes—the Brahmins and the Kurmis-living in 16 and 4 families respectively. All of the Kurmis and three fourth of the Brahmin families are of joint type (Table 13). The family size varies from one to fourteen among the Brahmins and that of the Kurmis from six to eleven. Each of the two caste groups are the extension of a single lineage.

Although 43 per cent of the village population is literate, the percentage varies from a low of 12 among the Kurmis to a high of 51 among the Brahmins. Sixteen per cent of the female population is literate, all confined to the Brahmins. Of the 41 Brahmin male adults 27 have had atleast five years of schooling with 15 having passed some grade above ninth. Of these seven have passed high school and one has passed intermediate examination. There is even a graduate among them. None of the Kurmis have passed any formal grades (Table 14).

The total labour force employed in gainful occupations is reported to be 66. Cultivation engages sixty eight per cent and agricultural labour accounts for 21 per cent of it. The remaining are engaged in regular employment in Government and shop keeping. All the 21 Kurmis earners are engaged in cultivation or in providing agricultural labour. Their women

too assist them in their work. Though the Brahmins have reported self cultivation as their occupation, their attachment is primarily with their traditional occupation of priesthood and not with land. Their clientage extends to a number of villages and even to the city of Varanasi, catering to which they are away from the village for most of the time, sometimes even at the peak period of agricultural activities.

There are only two agrarian categories in Mirdadpur. The proprietary rightholders, and the tillers who cultivate the land of the former on sharecropping or contract basis. In the first category are the Brahmins who own almost the entire land held by the residents of Mirdadpur (Table 15). The second category consists of Kurmis who are marginal peasants owning an acre each. They supplement their earnings by sharecropping.

As elsewhere in India, the Brahmins consider lifting of the plough as highly polluting. Therefore land owned by them is mostly cultivated by subletting. They themselves admit having leased out 40 per cent of their land. But in actual practice the extent of land leased out is much more. The under reporting is due to the fear of law. Traditionally, they have no experience in cultivation. Modern technology with its promise of increased prosperity too has failed to catch their imagination. (Table 16). Without much investment they have always been able to get some return from land with which they are content. There is no legal or administrative measure to enforce or ensure that the owner of land is under an obligation to produce as much as he could with the help of available technology. Consequently, the landowning class has an option to accept or reject innovations. The Brahmins find it much easier to concentrate on their traditional calling than on the ardous task of cultivation. The Brahmin youth is, however, neither interested in cultivation nor in traditional occupation. They prefer to get education and through it employment in petty white collar jobs.

The Kurmis are seriously short of means and are in no position to adopt innovations. Whatever little investment they decide to make, is on their own small holdings. The land held on lease starves for want of inputs due to the insecure status of the sharecropper and the land owner's argument

that increased production will be mainly pocketed by the sharecropper. Infact sharecropping is a misnomer as only one partner is toiling while the other sleeps, but the fruits are shared equally.

Due to the indifference of land owners to the agriculture on the one hand, and the powerlessness of the sharecropper on the other, Mirdadpur has failed to acquire the essential ingredient for modernization of its economy—assured means of irrigation. The main source of irrigation continues to be the rainfed state canal which is ineffective in the rabi season. Therefore, an insignificant area of only 8 out of 122 acres held by residents are sown more than once, compared to 185 out of 252 acres in Chak, where cultivators have invested in private irrigational sources. The common Pradhan of Chak—Mirdadpur Gaon Sabha suggested a panchayat supported community owned pump set for irrigation in Mirdadpur, provided the villagers agreed upon its site, gave land for water channels, agreed to pay the water charges and fixed the responsibility for the collection of the same. The project could not materialise due to lack of consensus.

This is the only village among the selected ones where electricity has not yet reached. Due to lack of assured irrigational facilities, new seeds, chemical fertilizers, pesticides or modern implements of agriculture have yet to find their way in this village. The village has no radio and receives no newspaper or magazine etc. The urban contact, however, is quite constant, though not in connection with agriculture and its problems. None of the villagers reported to have contacted any change agent in the past year.

The backward economic conditions of Mirdadpur are coupled with intra-caste rivalries among the Brahmins. Several law suits are filed on account of property disputes. Mutual distrust and suspicions prevail and non-cooperation is a way of life. Their attitude is typified in a remark made by the Pradhan that they would gladly give one eye if they were assured that their enemy would loose both. Inability to accommodate has hampered the work of consolidation of holdings which continue to be scattered, for example seventeen fragments in one case. In such an environment, any projects that require community participation are bound to fail.

Within the visible horizon are the prosperous fields of Chak, but Mirdadpur has chosen to remain backward. The high caste Thakur land owners of the former were also not cultivators traditionally, but they showed a remarkable quickness in perceiving the production potential through modernization. Although they do not till the land themselves, they work through hired labour and have responded to all kinds of innovations and technical improvements. They have emerged as rich farmers operating on commercial lines. In contrast the Brahmins of Mirdadpur, who jointly own more land than the Thakurs of Chak, have failed to justify the ownership of land. They may be a typical example of several such retainers of proprietary rights in land, without any stake in its development, in other parts of the country as well.

Third Pair of Villages

The third pair of selected villages lies in Kashi Vidyapith Block, which was the first to be covered under the community development programme in the district. Bhadwar the most developed, and Panditpur the least developed villages, in the same village level circle and having the same facilities and amenities, are located at a distance of about eight miles from Varanasi. One can reach the villages either by branching off from the Grand Trunk road at Jagatpur or by taking the 'panch-kosi' road from Mandua-Dih merging into Jakhania—Raja Talab road. An important Asht-Bhuji temple on the 'panch-kosi' road is only half a mile from Bhadwar. The slow moving village is bounded by Bhadwar on the one side and Jagatpur, another well developed village, on the other. An approach road links Panditpur with the G.T. road and Bhadwar with the 'panch-kosi' road. Since the latter is only a fair weather road, it poses many a problem particularly during the rainy season. Thus Panditpur has a better approach and among the selected villages, this pair of villages is situated nearest to the city of Varanasi which is an important seat of administration, higher learning, developmental departments and religious significance.

Bhadwar: Bhadwar is inhabited by 526 persons spread over 61 families belonging to the different castes. Nearly three fourth of them are joint in nature. The castes can be grouped

into four categories. At the top are the Brahmins and the Bhumiars. The latter consider themselves as the structural neighbours of Brahmins. Next to them are the peasant castes consisting of Kurmis and Ganderis followed by the service castes—Bhars, Kahars, Nais and Dhobis. The last are Harijans who provide labour. A nomadic group of 'Musahars' has settled in the village recently. Their status is indefinite. But they are equated with Kahars as they provide the same services. (Table 17).

The Brahmins report themselves to be one of the original inhabitants of the village. Their total number is 37 of which only 13 are literate. Seven of these have not passed any formal grade (Table 18). As in the case of the Brahmins of Mirdadpur they too report self-cultivation as their main occupation. But in reality they attach more importance to their traditional calling of priesthood with their 'Jajmans' spread over many villages and the city. They too manage their land by leasing out to others on sharecrop or contract basis. (Table 19). This explains the question as to why with so many acres of land they do not have the necessary bullock power and implements (Table 20). They consider themselves above the Bhumiars and do not accept 'katcha' food from them. Except for this ritual purity there is nothing else which places them above the Bhumiars.

The Bhumiars constitute 45.4 per cent of the village population. They live in 19 joint families, the size of their family varying from 5 to 22. Two-third of their males and 42 per cent of their females are literate with about half having passed some grade above primary level. Of their 61 male adults, 20 have passed one or the other grade above ninth. Eight are studying at intermediate and B.A. levels.

During the rule of the Maharaj of Banaras, two Bhumiar families belonging to the Maharaj's caste approached him for land. The Maharaj was known to grant such favours to his caste men. He allotted about 16 acres to each of these two families in this village. Subsequently, three more families migrated to this village and together they were alloted about 32 acres. Thus about 64 acres were alloted to Bhumiars for cultivation. They have added both to their number and their land size since then. Of the 127 acres of cultivated land in this

village 96 acres belong to them. Three-fourth of them also have land in the eleven neighbouring villages, which they manage with the plough units maintained in Bhadwar. Thus of the 398 acres under the ownership of the residents of this village in and around Bhadwar, 333 acres or 84 per cent is owned by the Bhumiars. Besides their own land they also take land from other cultivators, particularly the Brahmins on a contract basis. Thus each Bhumiar family has an operational holding exceeding eight acres. Three of them operate more than one third of the village land.

Possessing large sized holdings, Bhumiars cultivate the land with the assistance of a number of permanently attached labourers, farm servants and casually hired labour, make use of modern agricultural implements and a mechanised irrigation system. Though they have the required extent of bullock power, they hire tractors too for cultivation.

Since the physical labour in cultivation is mostly undertaken by hired labour they are free to move in the wider world. They visit the city of Varanasi which is the Block headquarter too, in connection with purchase of inputs and other supplies, sale of marketable surplus, submission of applications for loans and grants, attending court cases, purchase of consumption goods, consulting medical practitioners, and attending the meetings at the block, district or political party level. Their younger generation visits the city for education at the university level. They earn non-farm income by following subsidiary occupations such as stock raising, trade in agricultural commodities, money lending etc. In connection with stock raising they visit far off places in Haryana and the Punjab from where they purchase high breed cattle for sale at home. It also helps them in the improvement of their own stock.

Extensive urban contact and higher literacy and education has helped to increase exposure to mass media among Bhumiars. Bhadwar was one of the few villages covered under the community listening scheme. The subsidised radio receiving set was maintained by the panchayat and tuned for the benefit of the villagers at fixed hours. There are seven privately owned radio sets now. The villagers gather around them in the evening and exchange views regarding the price bulletin, news and agricultural programmes. Some of them visit the library and reading

room in the neighbouring village and read newspaper and magazines.

The Bhumiars participate in the associational life of their caste beyond the village too. A Degree college at Jagatpur maintained without State assistance serves as a socio-political base. It has a library and a reading room, with two national and local dailies and magazines used by the students and the interested villagers. The village Pradhan of Bhadwar is the Vice-President of the managing committee of the college and visits it almost every day along with some of his close associates. Jagatpur has a large number of Bhumiar families. The Block Pramukh also belongs to this village and is a Bhumiar. The college provides a nucleus for men of the same caste from neighbouring villages for discussing problems of local and national importance. The Bhumiars have not only made significant progress in economic and technological modernization, they have also widened the horizon of their social and political life. The strong sense of social solidarity and absence of rivalry among Bhumiars contribute to their strength. Their leadership is based on their knowledge about scientific agriculture and economic dominance obtained through prosperity due to their interest in the use of land. While they themselves maintain a vigorous contact with the officials change agents, the other cultivators consult the innovators and Pradhan in matters relating to agriculture.

Having adopted most of the agricultural innovations offered in the region, the Bhumiars maintain a close contact with the developmental administration and are always in search of more information about latest seeds and modern technology relating to agriculture. When the 'Padma' and 'Jaya' varieties of paddy were released for the first time in the year 1969 on an experimental basis, Bhumiar Pradhan was the first one to prevail upon the district administration to supply them some quantity for trial on the fields of some cultivators in this village. Desire to remain ahead of others and an attraction for novelty makes them constantly experimenting with new ideas.

Next to the Brahmins and the Bhumiars are the Kurmis who constitute the third largest group in the village. The total of their 55 members live in seven families. Though one fourth of these are literate, few have had more than five years of

schooling. The total land owned by them is 34 acres. While none of them is landless their holdings are small ranging from two and a half acres to five acres. Their small holdings are further handicapped by being scattered over a number of fragments and deprived of assured irrigation facilities. The village is served by a state tubewell. But the lion's share of the water supply is taken away by the bigger cultivators. They do not own any radio set nor make any effort to listen to it at others' places or visit any reading room for reading newspapers. Their contact with the lower level functionaries of the development administration too was weak and mainly limited to supply of inputs and credit facilities. As a result they have been able to accept only a few innovations, their knowledge regarding the same, however, leaves much to be desired.

The three Ganderi families have a total population of 21 persons of which only 14 per cent are literate. They are also small farmers suffering from the same handicaps as faced by Kurmis. They continue to fight poverty and are hardly affected by the benefits of planned effort. The other castes—Bhar, Kahar, Nai, Dhobi, Harijan and Musahar—are either landless or with very little land and depend for livelihood on the land owning castes. Most of them are only indirectly benefited due to the increased demand for labour under intensive cultivation. Nearness to the city offers them alternate employment in saree-weaving, rikshaw pulling, wire-net making etc. Thus the landless agricultural labour in Bhadwar have a slight edge over others of their type in villages away from big cities.

Bhadwar is referred to as a 'Bhumiar' village. Owning the major portion of the locally available arable land having strength of numbers (47 per cent voters) and enjoying more status and power than the ritually higher Brahmins, the Bhumiars dominate and support the village social system. The office of the Pradhan of the village panchayat has never been contested and all elections have been unanimous. Important offices in the modern organisational set up are also held by Bhumiars. The village was mobilized to undertake the construction of a community centre and a seed store for which land was given by the Pradhan.

The service castes and the Harijans stand in a relation of clientship to the Bhumiars. The increased demand for labour

under intensive farm operations has helped improve the working conditions and terms of payment to the labour. Mechanisation of agricultural operations has encouraged secularization of high caste beliefs to some extent. Even the low caste labourers can now handle 'Gur making' which was prohibited once. The traditional agricultural calendar in which priestly consultations preceeded sowing time and other agricultural operations is replaced by a scientific one. The new priests are the extension agents. With their skills in land the Bhumiars are markedly acquisitive. They do not invest in land only to retain it as a status-symbol, but to use it for profit with the help of the best available techniques and facilities. In this they have been amply supported by the official machinery.

Bhadwar shows an encouraging picture in terms of its development. Yet a closer look reveals that most of its modernization is confined to the Bhumiars. Secondly they show a hunger for land. Not only do they keep on extending their holdings which they manage through hired labour, they cultivate the land of others too on a contract basis, thus showing capitalistic orientations. Lastly, the other castes in the village have been unable to participate in the process of development.

Panditpur: Panditpur is sandwitched between Bhadwar and Jagatpur-two developed Bhumiar villages-but shares its pattern of development and power relations with Dehia, the other less developed village. This village was donated by the Maharaj of Banaras to a Brahmin 'Guru' who renamed it Panditpur from its original name of Hussainipur. The 'Guru' managed the village through a Brahmin agent. There was a Brahmin Mukhiya too under the British administration. Holding important offices, enjoying the patronage of the zamindar and living on taxes and tributes, the Brahmins of Panditpur came to be the biggest landowners in the village.

There are 569 persons living in 83 families (Table 21). While Brahmins constitute only 11 percent of the village population they own 41 percent of the land held by residents in the village. Almost the same amount of land is held by the largest group in the village-the Koiri and Kurmis peasants-who together constitute over thirty five percent of the village population. The other castes are the artisan, service castes, a Harijan family and

some Musahars and Muslims too, who have little or no land (Table 23).

The Brahmins have been non-cultivating proprietary rightholders who managed their land by subletting. Now because of legislation against it, they do not report the actual situation, though admit having leased out 38 per cent of their land on share-cropping or contract basis. The actual amount is much more though it is difficult to find it out. The tenants do not report accurately for fear of eviction. The Brahmins prefer to give their land to outsiders as that way they can renew the contract more easily. The disinterest in land among the youth is even more. They do not take much interest in the possibilities offered by modern techniques in agriculture. The effort is to get some education and seek employment in the city. Only one-fourth of the Brahmins are literate (Table 22). Those who have passed any grades above primary are engaged in the low paid white collar jobs.

There is little social solidarity among the Brahmins. In fact, they do not trust each other and form alliances with other castes to work against a fellow caste man. After the introduction of the Panchayat system, their interest in village level politics has taken a new dimension in the sense that they are engaged in splitting the other castes to their advantage. Traditionally, as influential landowning and powerful group, they enjoyed it with their ritual superiority. Today the picture is changing and they are desperately fighting a loosing battle.

The rival claims to Brahmin dominance have come from self-sufficient, self-working peasant castes. These are the Koiris, who with their small land holdings are capable of producing not only for their own needs but manage a sizeable surplus for the market. They lease in land from Thakur absentee landowners in the village. They possess the essential infra-structure for modern agriculture, such as assured irrigational sources, animal and mechanical power and abundant family labour (Table 24). They are the true sons of the soil. They consider cultivation of land much more profitable and prefer it to petty jobs elsewhere. Nearly one third of them are literates, while 59 per cent of the literate male adults have passed some grade above the primary level. Some boys are receiving education at college and university. Yet it was found

that a couple of boys with an intermediate certificate and another with diploma in technical education are engaged in active cultivation. Such educated youth are an asset to their community as they not only interpret for the rest of them the written instruction that come with various new agricultural practices, but are also better able to deal with many official formalities required to get the facilities and benefits from the development departments. Those who are engaged in non-farm occupation too, are tied to the family and supplement the family income. They commute the distance between the village and their place of work, thus showing their peasant orientation.

Panditpur's low level of development is attributed to the fact that a large part of the land in the village is starved of the necessary inputs. Since there is a wide gap between land-owning and land cultivation, those with insecure tenancy are looking after land. The landowning families abstain from physical participation in agricultural operations even on the land directly managed by them. Thus hired labour is employed in cultivating the land often with very little investment in the improvement of land, the argument being that even if they just fling the seeds on their land, they can always manage to get enough to support them, the amount of land being so substantial. Thus whatever innovations have been accepted in the village, are by the peasants, who combine their own holding with land leased in, pool their resources to own costly equipment such as electric pumpsets, live in joint families to provide family labour as well as employ hired labour during the peak season, and raise cash crops like vegetables, potatoes and wheat in the three crop calender year which raises them above the subsistance level. Their major limitation is their small amount of land. On the one hand, is the major landowning group with caste prejudices and attitudes towards cultivation not conducive to modernization. On the other, is a class of peasants who inspite of their limitation on account of scarcity of land, try to extract as much output per unit of land as is possible by their muscle, skill and personal interest.

The inception of the Panchayat system has brought the above two economic groups into direct political confrontation. The sting of the oppression by the Brahmin dominants under

the ex-princely rule is still fresh in the memory of the villagers, and it came to the fore with the election of the first village panchayat in 1956. No Brahmin contested the election as it was clear that there would be little public support. But through the politics of manipulation, Brahmins planned to enter the new democratic set up through the back door. A low caste 'Lohar' was backed by a powerful Brahmin who succeeded in getting the low caste vote plus support of some other families. The koiri opponent lost because of the split in their own caste. In 1961, another contest took place between the same candidates. This time the koiri won. It was also seen that the old jealousies between the landowning and independent tillers are finding expression in new forms. The village Panchayat has filed a suit against a Brahmin for trespassing on the Gaon Samaj land. This land has always been with this family but the Lohar President who was their mouthpiece did not bring the fact to light. But when a koiri assumed office, they took an active interest in pursuing the matter. Panditpur is an arena for conflict between entrenched influentials and ascending forces from lower castes. Thus a social innovation in the form of the panchayat is instrumental in disturbing the village balance of power among the unequal status groups and in its place has set in a process of rival competing claims of low castes attempting to climb the social ladder through secular means. Two significant features mark the pattern of modernization in Panditpur. First is the glaring apathy of landowners and enthusiastic response of peasants to the modern agricultural technology. Second is the ascending claim of a low caste vying with the power of a traditionally dominant group through democratic institutions.

TABLE 1

Village *Tiari* by Castewise distribution of Families, Population, Voters and Occupation of Male earners

Caste	*Families*		*Population*		*Voters*		*Total male earners*	*Male earners Percent engaged in*			
	Total	*Joint (Percentage of total in the caste)*	*Total*	*Male (Percentage of total in the caste)*	*Total*	*Percentage of total voters in the village*		*cultivation*	*Labour*	*Artisan and other rural occupations*	*Non-farm occupations*
Thakur	2	—	4	100	2	1	2	100	—	—	—
Ahir	7	57	39	40	22	11	11	55	18	18	9
Kurmi	14	79	121	49	71	36	35	63	—	—	37
Lohar	2	—	10	50	4	2	3	—	—	100	—
Kahar	2	50	10	50	5	3	4	—	—	100	—
Teli	2	100	14	50	8	4	4	50	25	—	25
Harijan	35	17	160	55	79	41	46	4	83	7	6
Muslim	2	—	6	67	4	2	2	—	—	100	—
Village	66	67	364	52	195	100	107	32	38	13	17

TABLE 2

Village *Tiari* by Castewise Literacy, Education of Male Adults and Highest Educational Attainment

Caste	*Literate population (percent)*			*Total Male adults*	*Male adults who have passed*			*Percentage of male adults who have passed any grade above primary*	*Highest educational attainment*	
	Male	*Female*	*Total*		*Primary*	*Any grade from six to eight*	*Any grade from nine and above*		*Male*	*Female*
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Thakur	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ahir	31	4	15	10	—	—	2	20	High school	Read & write
Kurmi	83	37	60	33	4	16	13	100	B.A.	Middle
Lohar	100	—	50	2	—	1	—	50	Middle	—
Kahar	60	—	30	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
Teli	57	14	36	4	—	2	—	50	Middle	Read & write
Harijan	11	—	6	44	—	1	1	5	—	—
Muslim	50	—	33	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
Village	41	14	28	101	4	20	16	40	B A.	Middle

TABLE 3

Village *Tiari* by Castewise Land Owned and Extent Leased out

(Area—Acres)

Caste	*Total land owned*	*Per Capita land owned*	*Percentage of families owning land by size group*					*No. of families giving land on lease/ contract*	*Area leased out*	
			No land owned	*Below 2.5 acres*	*2.5 to 5 acres*	*5 to 10 acres*	*10 acres and above*		*Area*	*Percent*
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Thakur	19	4.8	—	—	—	100	—	2	8	42
Ahir	9	0.2	29	29	42	—	—	—	—	—
Kurmi	272	2.3	—	—	14	29	57	14	22*	8
Lohar	—	—	100	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kahar	—	—	100	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Teli	5	0.4	50	—	—	50	—	1	2	40
Harijan	4	0.02	94	6	—	—	—	—	—	—
Muslim	—	—	100	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Village	309	0.8	63	6	8	11	12	17	32	10

*Land given to permanent attached labourers in-lieu of wages.

TABLE 4

Village *Tiari* by Castewise Agrarian Structure and Extent of Technology used

Resources	*Caste*								*Village*
	Thakur	*Ahir*	*Kurmi*	*Lohar*	*Kahar*	*Teli*	*Harijan*	*Muslim*	
A. Land owned and operated									
(i) No. of acres owned	19	9	272	—	—	5	4	—	309
(ii) No. of acres leased out	8	—	22	—	—	2	—	—	32
(iii) No. of acres operated	11	17	250	—	—	3	28	—	309
(iv) Acres irrigated—Kharif	11	15	220	—	—	3	26	—	275
Rabi	2	2	75	—	—	1	3	—	83
B. Technology (No. owned)									
(i) Pumpset/Tubewell	—	—	9*	NR@	NR	—	—	NR	9
(ii) Tractor	—	—	1	NR	NR	—	—	NR	1
(iii) Iron plough	1	—	21	NR	NR	—	—	NR	22
(iv) Cane crusher	—	—	5	NR	NR	—	—	NR	5
(v) Thresher	—	—	2	NR	NR	—	—	NR	2
(vi) Chaff Cutter	1	4	8	—	—	1	2	—	16
(vii) Bicycles	—	6	25	—	—	—	4	—	35
(viii) Motor Cycle/Vehicle	—	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	6
(ix) Processing unit	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	3
(x) Radio/Transistor	—	1	13	—	—	—	—	—	14
C. Cattle wealth owned									
(i) No. of acres per bullock	5.5	1.5	2.5	NR	NR	1.5	1.0	—	4.0
(ii) No. of Milch cattle per Family	0.5	2.2	3.6	—	1	1.0	0.7	—	1.5

(iii) Other cattle (percentage of total cattle)	40.0	37.0	23.0	—	—	37.0	32.0	—	29.0
D. Farm Workers									
(i) Family workers engaged in cultivation	2	6	22	NR	NR	—	4	—	34
(ii) Attached farm labourers	2	—	40	NR	NR	1	—	—	43
(iii) Acres operated per worker	2.8	2.8	3.79	NR	NR	3	1.0	—	4.0

*Four have yet to be Commissioned.

@NR=Not relevant.

TABLE 5

Village *Dehia* by Castewise distribution of Families, Population, Voters and Occupation of Male earners

Caste	*Families*		*Population*		*Voters*		*Male earners*				
	Total	*Joint (percentage of total in the caste)*	*Total*	*Male (percentage of total in the caste)*	*Total*	*Percentage of total voters in the village*	*Total male earners*	*Percent engaged in*			
								Cultivation	*Labour*	*Artisan and other rural occupations*	*Non-farm occupations*
Brahmin	2	—	6	83	2	1	2	100	—	—	—
Koiri	5	100	73	55	50	33	20	90	—	—	10
Nai	2	100	28	55	15	10	8	50	—	—	50
Harijan	31	39	164	55	86	56	45	—	95	—	5
Village	40	48	271	56	153	100	75	32	57	—	11

TABLE 6

Village *Dehia* Castewise Literacy, Education of Male Adults and Highest Educational Attainment

Caste	*Literate population (percent)*			*Total male adults*	*Male adults who have passed*			*Percentage of male adults who have passed any grade above primary*	*Highest educational attainment*	
	Male	*Female*	*Total*		*Primary*	*Any grade from six to eight*	*Any grade from nine and above*		*Male*	*Female*
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Brahmin	80	—	67	2	—	—	—	—	Read & write	—
Koiri	70	21	48	26	4	4	18	100	Intermediate	Middle
Nai	50	17	36	9	1	—	4	56	High school	Read & write
Harijan	34	3	20	46	4	2	5	24	B.A.	Read & write
Village	47	9	30	83	9	6	27	33	B.A.	Middle

TABLE 7

Village *Dehia* by Castewise Land Owned and Extent Leased out

(Area—acres)

Caste	*Total land owned*	*Per Capita land owned*	*Percentage of families owning land by size group*					*No. of families giving land on lease/ contract*	*Area leased out*	
			No land owned	*Below 2.5 acres*	*2.5 to 5 acres*	*5 to 10 acres*	*10 acres and above*		*Area*	*Percent*
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Brahmin	16	2.7	—	—	—	100	—	2	8	50
Koiri	73	1.0	—	—	20	40	40	2	5*	7
Nai	12	0.4	—	—	—	100	—	2	4	33
Harijan	9	0.05	68	32	—	—	—	—	—	—
Village	110	0.4	53	25	2	15	5	6	17	15

*Land given to permanent labourers in lieu of wages.

TABLE 8

Village *Dehia* by Castewise Agrarian Structure and Extent of Technology used

Resources	*Caste*				*Village*
	Brahmin	*Koiri*	*Nai*	*Harijan*	
A. Land owned and operated					
(i) No. of acres owned	16	73	12	9	110
(ii) No. of acres leased out	8	5	4	—	17
(iii) No. of acres operated	8	68	8	11	95
(iv) Acres irrigated: Kharif	8	63	7	11	89
Rabi	2	22	2	—	26
B. Technology (No. owned)					
(i) Pumpset/Tubewell	—	1	—	—	1
(ii) Tractor	—	—	—	—	—
(iii) Iron Plough	—	5	—	—	5
(iv) Cane crusher	1	5	—	—	6
(v) Thresher	—	—	—	—	—
(vi) Chaff Cutter	1	5	2	2	10
(vii) Bicycles	1	9	3	1	14
(viii) Motor Cycle/Vehicle	—	—	—	—	—
(ix) Processing Unit	—	—	—	—	—
(x) Radio/Transistor	—	—	—	—	—
C. Cattle wealth owned					
(i) Acres per bullock (No.)	4.0	3.1	2.0	5.5	3.1

(ii) Milch cattle per family (No.)	1.0	2.6	2.0	0.1	0.6
(iii) Other cattle (percentage of total cattle)	33.0	38.6	33.0	0.1	35.4
D. Farm workers					
(i) Family workers	2	27	6	10	45
(ii) Attached farm labourers	2	9	—	—	11
(iii) Acres operated per worker	2	2	1.3	1.5	1.6

TABLE 9

Village *Chak* by Castewise distribution of Families, Population. Voters and Occupation of Male earners

Caste	*Families*		*Population*		*Voters*		*Male earners*				
	Total	*Joint (per centage of total in the caste)*	*Total*	*Male (Percentage of total in the caste)*	*Total*	*Percentage of total voters in the village*	*Total male earners*	*Percent engaged in*			
								Cultivation	*Labour*	*Artisan and other rural occupation*	*Non-farm occupation*
Thakur	2	100	38	50	19	7	9	89	—	—	11
Ahir	14	57	98	55	98	37	24	88	2	2	8
Mallah	9	89	90	55	48	18	23	56	30	9	5
Mali	5	100	72	45	38	14	13	70	8	22	—
Teli	1	100	12	50	7	3	3	33	67	—	—
Kahar	1	—	6	66	2	1	1	—	—	100	—
Gandharv	1	100	7	57	4	2	2	100	—	—	—
Harijan	18	22	101	54	49	18	27	15	70	4	11
Village	51	53	424	53	265	100	102	57	26	10	7

TABLE 10

Village *Chak* by Castewise Literacy, Education of Male Adults and Highest Educational Attainment

Caste	*Literate population (percent)*			*Total male adults*	*Male adults who have passed*			*Percentage of male adults who have passed any grade above primary*	*Highest educational attainment*	
	Male	*Female*	*Total*		*Primary*	*Any grade from six to eight*	*Any grade from nine and above*		*Male*	*Female*
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Thakur	68	53	61	9	2	2	5	78	Interme-diate	Primary
Ahir	30	9	20	27	—	1	3	15	Interme-diate	Primary
Mallah	40	—	22	24	1	—	—	4	Primary	—
Mali	38	5	19	15	—	—	1	7	High school	Read & write
Teli	50	—	25	4	—	1	—	25	Middle	—
Kahar	25	—	17	1	—	—	—	—	Read & write	—
Gandharv	25	—	14	2	—	—	—	—	Read & write	—
Harijan	31	10	22	27	—	1	2	11	Interme-diate	Interme-diate
Village	37	10	25	119	3	3	11	14	Interme-diate	Interme-diate

TABLE 11

Village *Chak* by Castewise Land Owned and Extent Leased out

(Area—Acres)

Caste	*Total land owned*	*Per Capita land owned*	*Percentage of families owning land by size group*					*No. of families giving land on lease/ contract*	*Area leased out*	
			No land owned	*Below 2.5 acres*	*2.5 to 5 acres*	*5-10 acres*	*10 acres and above*		*Area*	*Percent*
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Thakur	79	2.1	—	—	—	—	100	2	7*	9
Ahir	51	0.5	—	29	50	7	14	2	1*	2
Mallah	38	0.4	—	33	45	22	—	—	—	—
Mali	19	0.3	—	40	40	20	—	—	—	—
Kahar	—	—	100	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Teli	4	0.3	—	—	100	—	—	—	—	—
Gandharv	13	1.9	—	—	—	—	100	—	—	—
Harijan	19	0.2	22	78	—	—	—	—	—	—
Village	223	0.5	30	25	27	8	10	4	8	4

*Land given to permanent attached labourers in lieu of wages.

TABLE 12

Village *Chak* by Castewise Agrarian Structure and Extent of Technology used

Resources	*Caste*								*Village*
	Thakur	*Ahir*	*Mallah*	*Mali*	*Kahar*	*Teli*	*Gandharv*	*Harijan*	
A. Land owned and operated									
(i) No. of acres owned	79	51	38	19	—	4	13	19	223
(ii) No. of acres leased out	7	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	8
(iii) No. of acres operated	72	50	38	19	—	4	13	27	223
(iv) Acres irrigated: Kharif	70	41	36	17	—	4	8	24	205
Rabi	45	22	30	10	—	4	—	11	112
B. Technology (No. owned)									
(i) Pumpset/Tubewell	2	—	3	1	NR	1	—	—	7
(ii) Tractor	—	—	—	—	NR	—	—	—	—
(iii) Iron plough	4	2	1	—	NR	—	—	—	7
(iv) Cane crusher	2	6	4	—	NR	—	—	—	14
(v) Thresher	1	—	—	—	NR	—	—	—	1
(vi) Chaff Cutter	3	11	7	3	—	1	1	2	28
(vii) Bicyles	3	3	4	—	—	1	—	—	11
(viii) Motor Cycle/Vehicles	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(ix) Processing unit	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
(x) Radio/Transistor	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
C. Cattle wealth owned									
(i) Acres per bullock (No)	6.0	1.7	2.2	2.4	NR	1.0	4.3	1.8	2.5

(ii) Milch cattle per Family (No.)	3.0	1.4	1.1	1.0	—	1.0	1.0	0.5	1 0
(iii) Other cattle (percentage of total cattle)	25.0	9.0	21.0	18.0	—	—	—	44.0	25.6
D. Farm workers									
(i) Family workers	7	37	37	16	NR	4	2	24	127
(ii) Attached farm labourers	13	2	—	—	NR	—	1	—	16
(iii) Acres operated per worker	3.4	1.4	1.0	1.2	NR	1	4.3	1.1	1.6

TABLE 13

Village *Mirdadpur* by Castewise distribution of Families, Population, Voters and Occupation of Male earners

Caste	*Families*		*Population*		*Voters*		*Male earners*				
	Total	*Joint (percentage of total in the caste)*	*Total*	*Male (percentage of total in the caste)*	*Total*	*Percentage of total voters in the village*	*Total male earners*	*Percent engaged in*			
								Cultivation	*Labour*	*Artisan and other rural occupations*	*Non-farm occupations*
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Brahmin	16	75	127	54	70	81	38	71	—	5	24
Kurmi	4	100	34	53	16	19	14	43	57	—	—
Village	20	80	161	54	86	100	52	64	15	4	17

TABLE 14

Village *Mirdadpur* by Castewise Literary, Education of Male Adults and Highest Educational Attainment

Caste	*Literate population (percent)*			*Total male adults*	*Male adults who have passed*			*Percentage of male adults who have passed any grade above primary*	*Highest educational attainment*	
	Male	*Female*	*Total*		*Primary*	*Any grade from six to eight*	*Any grade from nine and above*		*Male*	*Female*
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Brahmin	77	21	51	41	6	6	15	66	B.A.	Primary
Kurmi	22	—	12	10	—	—	—	—	Read & write	—
Village	66	16	43	51	6	6	15	29	B.A	Primary

TABLE 15

Village *Mirdadpur* by Castewise Land Owned and Extent Leased out

(Area—acres)

Caste	*Total land owned*	*Per Capita land owned*	*Percentage of families owning land by size group*					*No. of families giving land on lease/ contract*	*Area leased out*	
			No land owned	*Below 2.5 acres*	*2.5 to 5 acres*	*5-10 acres*	*10 acres and above*		*Area*	*Percent*
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Brahmin	118	0.9	—	6	31	38	25	16	47	40
Kurmi	4	0.1	—	100	—	—	—	—	—	—
Village	122	0.7	—	25	25	30	20	16	47	39

TABLE 16

Village *Mirdadpur* by Castewise Agrarian Structure and Extent of Technology used

Resources	*Caste*		*Village*
	Brahman	*Kurmi*	
A. Land owned and operated			
(i) No. of acres owned	118	4	122
(ii) No. of acres leased out	47	—	47
(iii) No. of acres operated	71	16	87
(iv) Acres irrigated Kharif	67	16	83
Rabi	6	2	8
B. Technology (No. owned)			
(i) Pumpset/Tubewell	—	—	—
(ii) Tractor	—	—	—
(iii) Iron plough	3	—	3
(iv) Cane crusher	1	—	1
(v) Thresher	—	—	—
(vi) Chaff Cutter			
(vii) Bicycles	3	—	3
(viii) Motor Cycle/Vehicle	—	—	—
(ix) Processing unit	—	—	—
(x) Radio/Transistor	—	—	—
C. Cattle wealth owned			
(i) No. of acres per bullock	2.3	2.7	2.4
(ii) No. of Milch cattle per family	0.9	0.3	0.8

(iii) Other cattle (percentage of total cattle)	13.7	22.2	11.7
D. **Farm workers**			
(i) Family workers	24	8	32
(ii) Attached farm labourers	—	—	—
Acres operated per worker	3.0	2 0	2.7

TABLE 17

Village *Bhadwar* by Castewise distribution of Families, Population, Voters and Occupation of Male earners

Caste	*Families*		*Population*		*Voters*		*Male earners*				
								Percent engaged in			
	Total	*Joint (percentage of total in the caste)*	*Total*	*Male (percentage of total in the caste)*	*Total*	*Percentage of total voters in the village*	*Total male earners*	*Cultivation*	*Labour*	*Artisan and other rural occupations*	*Non-farm occupations*
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Brahmin	5	100	37	57	20	7	11	91	—	—	9
Bhumiar	19	100	239	57	130	47	55	86	—	—	14
Kurmi	7	71	55	56	31	11	16	70	6	5	19
Ganderi	3	67	21	48	15	5	4	50	50	—	—
Bhar	1	100	14	36	3	1	2	—	100	—	—
Kahar	1	—	4	50	3	1	1	—	—	100	—
Nai	2	50	18	67	13	5	4	—	—	100	—
Dhobi	5	60	36	53	12	4	12	—	—	92	8
Musahar	6	16	25	40	13	5	6	—	16	84	—
Harijan	12	68	77	65	40	14	21	5	71	19	5
Village	61	72	526	56	280	100	132	54	16	20	10

TABLE 18

Village *Bhadwar* Castewise Literacy, Education of Male Adults and Highest Educational Attainment

Caste	*Literate population (percent)*			*Total male adults*	*Male adults who have passed*			*Percentage of male adults who have passed any grade above primary*	*Highest educational attainment*	
	Male	*Female*	*Total*		*Primary*	*Any grade from six to eight*	*Any grade from nine and above*		*Male*	*Female*
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Brahmin	48	19	35	16	1	—	5	38	B.A.	Read & write
Bhumiar	67	42	56	61	5	16	20	67	M.A.	High school
Kurmi	26	—	15	17	—	—	3	18	Interme-diate	—
Ganderi	30	—	14	6	—	—	1	7	Middle	—
Bhar	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kahar	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nai	33	—	22	4	—	—	—	—	—	—
Dhobi	31	—	17	12	—	2	2	33	B.A.	—
Musahar	—	—	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	—
Harijan	22	4	16	22	—	1	3	18	B.A.	—
Village	45	21	34	147	6	19	34	40	B.A.	High school

TABLE 19

Village *Bhadwar* by Castewise land owned and Extent Leased out

Caste	*Total land owned*	*Per Capita land owned*	*Percentage of families owning land*					*N. of families giving land on lease/ contract*	*Area leased out*	
			No land owned	*Below 2.5*	*2.5 to 5 acres*	*5-10 acres*	*10 acres and above*		*Area*	*Percent*
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Brahmin	17	0 5	20	20	60	—	—	4	10	59
Bhumiar	333	1.4	—	—	—	11	89	19	44*	13
Kurmi	34	0.6	—	—	85	14	—	—	—	—
Ganderi	8	0.4	—	33	33	33	—	—	—	—
Bhar	—	—	100	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kahar	—	—	100	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nai	2	0.1	—	100	—	—	—	—	—	—
Dhobi	—	—	100	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Musahar	—	—	100	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Harijan	5	0.1	8	92	—	—	—	—	—	—
Village	399	0.8	25	25	16	6	28	23	54	14

*Land given to permanent attached labourers in lieu of wages.

TABLE 20

Village *Bhadwar* by Castewise Agrarian Structure and Extent of Technology used

Rosources	*Caste*										*Village*
	Brahmin	*Bhumiar*	*Kurmi*	*Ganderi*	*Bhar*	*Kahar*	*Nai*	*Dhobi*	*Muslim*	*Harijan*	
A. Land owned and operated											
(i) No. of acres owned	17	333	34	8	—	—	2	—	—	5	399
(ii) No. of acres leased out	10	44	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	54
(iii) No. of acres operated	17	289	34	8	—	—	2	—	—	13	353
(iv) Acres irrigated: Kharif	2	110	5	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	118
Rabi	5	210	20	8	—	—	2	—	—	8	253
B. Technology (No. owned)											
(i) Pumpsets/Tubewells	—	2	—	—	NR	NR	—	—	—	—	2
(ii) Tractors	—	—	—	—	NR	NR	—	—	—	—	—
(iii) Iron Plough	—	18	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	18
(iv) Cane crusher	1	17	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	23
(v) Thresher	—	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11
(vi) Chaff Cutter	2	20	3	2	—	—	1	—	—	1	29
(vii) Cycles	3	20	4	4	—	—	2	—	—	1	34
(viii) Motor Cycles/Vehicle	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(ix) Processing unit	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(x) Radio Transister	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6
C. Cattle wealth owned											
(i) Acres per bullock	1.8	4.3*	3.4	2.7	—	—	1.0	—	—	1.4	3.7
(ii) Milch cattle per family	—	2.3	1.4	4.0	—	—	—	—	—	0.5	1.1

(iii) Other cattle (percentage of total cattle)	50	20.0	—	25.0	—	—	—	—	—	24.0	21.0
D. Farm workers											
(i) Family workers	6	46	22	9	NR	NR	2	NR	NR	13	98
(ii) Attachcd workers	—	45	—	—	NR	NR	—	NR	NR	—	45
(iii) Acres per family	1.7	3.2	1.6	0.9	NR	NR	1	NR	NR	1.0	2.5

*They hire tractor as well.

TABLE 21

Village *Panditpur* by Castewise distribution of Families, Population, Voters and Occupation of Male earners

Caste	*Families*		*Population*		*Voters*		*Male earners*				
	Total	*Joint (percentage of total in the caste)*	*Total*	*Male (percentage of total in the caste)*	*Total*	*Percentage of total voters in the village*	*Total male earners*	*Percent engaged in*			
								cultivation	*Labour*	*Artisan and other rural occupation*	*Non-farm occupation*
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Brahmin	10	50	68	40	28	10	15	87	—	—	13
Kurmi	11	73	67	46	40	14	20	45	35	—	20
Koiri	16	56	133	53	67	24	32	62	—	10	28
Bhar	14	50	76	49	38	13	21	5	52	43	—
Lohar	4	50	27	70	14	5	7	14	—	86	—
Gond	2	100	19	63	9	3	8	—	13	75	12
Nai	1	—	6	50	4	1	2	—	—	50	50
Kumhar	1	100	9	67	4	1	3	—	—	100	—
Teli	7	29	45	56	22	8	14	79	7	7	7
Musahar	5	40	34	56	15	5	11	—	—	100	—
Hrrijan	1	100	9	44	4	1	3	—	67	33	—
Muslim	11	64	76	53	39	14	21	—	—	100	—
Village	83	57	569	52	284	99	157	35	14	39	12

TABLE 22

Village *Panditpur* Castewise Literacy, Education of Male Adults and Highest Educational Attainment

Caste	*Literate population (percent)*			*Total male adults*	*Male adults who have passed*			*Percentage of male adults who have passed any grade above primary*	*Highest educational attainment*	
	Male	*Female*	*Total*		*Primary*	*Any grade from six to eight*	*Any grade from nine and above*		*Male*	*Female*
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Brahmin	44	10	23	15	—	1	4	33	High school	Read & write
Kurmi	32	6	18	20	1	1	3	25	Intermediate	Primary
Koiri	61	2	33	34	2	7	11	59	Intermediate	Read & write
Bhar	—	—	—	21	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lohar	5	—	4	9	—	—	—	—	Read & write	—
Gond	—	—	—	7	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nai	67	—	33	2	—	—	1	50	Middle	—
Kumhar	67	—	44	2	—	—	1	50	High school	—
Teli	28	—	16	11	—	—	—	—	RR	—
Musair	—	—	—	8	—	—	—	—	—	—

Harijan	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
Muslim	3	—	1	22	—	—	—	—	Read & write	—
Village	27	3	15	154	3	9	20	21	Interme- diate	Primary

TABLE 23

Village *Panditpur* Castewise Land Owned and Extent Leased out

(Area—Acres)

Caste	*Total land owned*	*Per Capita land owned*	*Percentage of families owning land by size group*					*No. of families giving land on lease/ contract*	*Area leased out*	
			No land owned	*Below 2.5 acres*	*2.5 to 5 ecres*	*5-10 acres*	*10 acres and above*		*Area*	*Percent*
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Brahmin	61	0.9	—	50	20	10	20	10	23	38
Kurmi	27	0.4	—	73	9	18	—	—	—	—
Koiri	40	0.3	—	68	25	—	7	—	—	—
Bhar	2	0.1	93	7	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lohar	5	0.2	25	75	—	—	—	—	—	—
Gond	—	—	100	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nai	2	0.3	—	100	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kumahar	—	—	100	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Teli	11	0.2	—	100	—	—	—	—	—	—
Musahar	—	—	100	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Harijan	1	0.1	—	100	—	—	—	1	1*	100
Muslim	—	—	100	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Village	149	0.3	40	44	8	4	4	11	24	16

*Given on mortgage.

TABLE 24

Village *Panditpur* by Castewise Agrarian structure and Extent of Technology used

Resources	*Caste*												*Village*
	Brahmin	*Kurmi*	*Koiri*	*Bhar*	*Lohar*	*Gond*	*Nai*	*Kumhar*	*Teli*	*Musahar*	*Harijan*	*Muslim*	
A. Land													
(i) No. of acres owned	61	27	40	2	5	—	—	—	11	—	1	—	147
(ii) No. of acres leased out	23	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	24
(iii) No. of acres operated	38	36	53	4	5	—	—	—	13	—	—	—	149
(iv) Acres irrigated:													
Kharif	5	3	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	28
Rabi	10	8	30	1	1	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	52
B. Technology (No. owned)													
(i) Pumpsets/Tubewells	1*	—	2	—	—	NR	NR	NR	—	NR	NR	NR	3
(ii) Tractors	—	—	—	—	—	NR	NR	NR	—	NR	NR	NR	—
(iii) Iron plough	1	2	11	—	—	NR	NR	NR	—	NR	NR	NR	14
(iv) Cane crusher	3	3	8	—	—	NR	NR	NR	—	NR	NR	NR	14
(v) Thresher	—	—	—	—	—	NR	NR	NR	—	NR	NR	NR	—
(vi) Chaff Cutter	11	3	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	18
(vii) Cycles	2	1	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11
(viii) Motor Cycle/Vehicle	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(ix) Processing unit	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(x) Radio Transistor	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

C. Cattle wealth owned													
(i) Acres per bullock	3.5	1.7	2.4	2.0	1.7	NR	NR	NR	1.6	NR	NR	NR	2.2
(ii) Milch cattle per family	0.3	0.5	0.7	—	0.2	—	—	—	0.4	—	—	—	0.3
(iii) Other cattle (percentage of total cattle)	17.9	25.9	21.9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	18.4
D. Family workers													
(i) Family workers	6	19	31	2	4	NR	NR	NR	16	NR	NR	NR	78
(ii) Attached farm labourers	4	—	—	—	—	NR	NR	NR	—	NR	NR	NR	4
(iii) Acres operated per worker	3 8	1.9	1.7	2	1.5	NR	NR	NR	0.8	NR	NR	NR	1.8

*Has not worked yet

CHAPTER FOUR

Patterns of Development in a Comparative Perspective

It would be difficult to hypothesize about the nature of village community and say which of its characteristics are more positively associated with development. Instead, an inter-village comparison will be made in terms of structure, resources, links with the larger society, organizational development and community participation. While describing these inter-village differences, it must be kept in mind that except for the caste composition of the community, differences may have been the product of development itself. The comparisons are more in the nature of establishing associations between differences in village development and village characteristics.

The more developed villages will be referred as HA, HB and HC. Less developed villages are labelled LX, LY and LZ.

HV	= More developed villages	LV	= Less developed villages
HA	= Tiari	LX	= Dehia
HB	= Chak	LY	= Mirdadpur
HC	= Bhadwar	LZ	= Panditpur

Links, Facilities and Institutions

A minimum of five miles have to be covered in order to reach a city from any of our selected villages. This may be done by covering a stretch of mud (Kutcha) road for at least one mile in the less developed villages and two miles in the more developed villages. It is often said that the development of a village varies with the distance from administrative establishments. None of the six villages are within five miles

of district headquarters. None has the village level worker's headquarters in it and the distance from V.L.W. headquarters to the selected villages varies from less than a mile to two miles.

In five of the six villages there is a Panchayat within one mile of the village. Similarly all of the villages are served by a cooperative society and a primary school that is within a mile of the village. Postal services are available within two miles of less developed villages and one to five miles in more developed villages.

The educational facilities, health centres and supply centres are not centrally located in the more developed villages. Repair facilities for ordinary implements are available within all the less developed and one of the more developed communities. For the more sophisticated and electrical equipment, one has to go beyond five miles in both types of villages.

The provision of services and institutions within every village is neither intended nor possible. For such services there is a larger unit of population. Since the two villages selected within the same V.L.W. circle are within walking distance of each other, they have the same opportunities and facilities provided under the super-structure of developmental machinery.

Population

The demographic picture of the selected villages provides the first point of comparison. The larger villages are expected to have more advantages; such as better transport facilities, more attention from government agencies, and greater benefit from "economies of scale".

Two of the three less developed villages are small in size, but one of the larger villages is also found in this category. In 1961, the percentage increase in population in the less developed villages was greater than in the more developed villages. After this date, the less developed villages seem to be multiplying at a lower rate than the more developed villages (Table 25).

There is a consistent increase in literate population in all instances. In 1951 the percentage of literates was 10.6 in the more developed villages and now nearly 30 percent of the present population can read and write. In the less developed villages the percentage of literates has risen from 9.3 to 23.0

TABLE 25

Selected Villages by Sexwise Increase in Population from 1951-1969

	HA	*HB*	*HC*	*Total*	*LX*	*LY*	*LZ*	*Total*
Percentage increase over 1951 in 1961								
Male	14.5	13.8	10 7	12 8	13.0	27.7	24.0	21.5
Female	2.5	25.7	5.9	10.5	11.3	25.9	16.1	16.1
Total	8.5	19.2	8.4	11.7	12.1	26.8	19.8	18.7
Percentage increase over 1961 on date of inquiry								
Male	3.3	17.4	30.8	18.2	24.6	4.8	13.9	15.1
Female	9.9	14.2	15.1	13.1	-7.0	1.4	0.4	-1.5
Total	6.1	15.8	23.5	15.8	8.4	3.2	6.5	6.7

in a similar period. A striking increase in female literacy is shown in all instances. From total illiteracy in 1951, the present percentage of literate females in more and less developed villages is 15.7 and 5.8 respectively (Table 26).

TABLE 26

Selected Villages by percentage Increase in Literacy from 1951-1969

	HA	*HB*	*HC*	*Total*	*LX*	*LY*	*LZ*	*Total*
Percentage Increase Over 1951 in 1961								
Male	50 0	93.3	98.0	75.0	63 2	111.1	243.8	107.1
Female	—	—	—	—	300.0	—	—	300.0
Total	69.6	126.7	140.0	108 3	58.0	122.2	256.2	118.1
Over 1951 in 1969								
Male	60.0	453.3	181.0	171.3	84.2	205.6	287.5	182.0
Female	—	—	—	—	350.0	—	—	350.0
Total	123.9	600.0	283.0	259.3	108.0	272.2	425.0	219.4
Over 1961 in 1969								
Male	13.0	18.6	44.8	171.3	7.1	44.4	41.8	36.2
Female	177.8	340.0	118.2	164.0	125.0	500.0	200.0	237.5
Total	30.8	209.0	59.4	72.4	31.7	67.5	47.4	46.5

To extend the analysis further the selected villages have been compared in terms of their population with different levels of education on the date of inquiry. While the proportion of female literates is higher in the more developed villages, there

is a larger proportion of males with more than 9 years of schooling in the less developed villages (Table 27). While education is expected to be a facilitator in effective and efficient participation in modern systems, its role in agricultural development has not been conclusively defined. In fact, after a point, formal education may appear as dissociative experience.[1]

TABLE 27

Selected Villages by Proportion of Population with Literacy and Different Levels of Education (Date of Inquiry)

	HA	*HB*	*HC*	*Total*	*LX*	*LY*	*LZ*	*Total*
Population	364	424	526	1314	271	161	569	1001
Proportion Literates								
Male	0.44	0.37	0.45	0.42	0.47	0.64	0.27	0.39
Female	0 18	0.10	0.20	0.16	0.10	0.16	0.03	0.07
Total	0.32	0.24	0.34	0.30	0.30	0.43	0.15	0.29
Proportion Males with Schooling up to:								
5 Years	0.03	0.03	0.04	0.03	0.11	0.12	0.02	0.06
6-8 years	0.16	0.03	0.12	0.11	0.07	0.12	0.06	0.07
9 and above	0.13	0.10	0.22	0.16	0.32	0.29	0.13	0.21

Analyzing village population in terms of the occupational structure, it is found that the bulk of the adult working force is engaged in agriculture, as cultivator or provides labour for agriculture. These two categories engage about 70 percent of the population in the selected villages, as is evident in Table 28.

A decline in the number of persons having cultivation as their occupation has been reported in all villages, while "other services" are attracting a larger number of persons. This indicates diversification of occupational structure. Whereas 8% of the total number of workers reported "other services" as their occupation in 1961, the percentage today is 21 in the more developed villages. The corresponding figures for less developed

[1]Briones and Waisanen (1967), support a curvilinearity, with minimum effects in early years (one to four) maximum effects in middle (five to eight), with subsequent levelling of effect with a ldditional increments.

villages are 1% for 1961 and 12% on the date of reporting. There has been a decrease in agricultural labour in the less developed villages and an increase in the more developed ones. Intensive cultivation increases the demand for labour and farm work becomes more attractive because wages increase and larger pieces of attached land are offered. This is not meaningful in itself but in how it is related to other factors of production such as land, mechanical power and increased input for rise in productivity.

TABLE 28

Selected Villages by Percentage of Labour Force in Different Occupational Categories (Date of Inquiry)

	HA	*HB*	*HC*	*Total*	*LX*	*LY*	*LZ*	*Total*
Percentage of Labour Force in :								
Cultivation	24.0	55.2	43.0	40.9	21.6	61.0	37.3	36.5
Ag. Labour	51.3	27.9	18.2	31.9	71.2	20.3	19.1	32.8
Livestock	4.7	1.3	0.6	2.1	0 0	1.7	0 4	0 5
Industry	1.3	0.0	4.2	1.9	0 0	0.0	28.0	16.9
Trade Commerce	4.0	0.0	0.0	1.3	0.0	3.4	0.8	0.9
Transport	1.3	0.6	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.2
Other Services	13.3	14.9	33.9	21.3	7 2	13.6	14.0	12.2
Labour force as Percentage of Total Population	41.2	36 3	31.4	35.7	40.9	36.6	45.2	42.7

The next inter-village comparison is in terms of caste hierarchy. For this purpose four broad categories have been made which are based on ritual ranking accepted in this region. Influential persons from each caste were asked to give their opinion of the rating. On general approval, the High castes include Brahmin, Thakur and Bhumihar. Cultivating castes go by the names of Ahir, Kurmi, Koiri, Ganderi and Mallah. The service or artisan castes are the Mali, Bhar, Lohar, Kahar, Gond, Nai, Kumhar and Teli. Last are the Harijans constituted by Chamar, Bayar, Doshad and Dhobi. Muslim and Musahar form a small minority and have not been included in the sample (Table 29).

TABLE 29

Selected Villages by Number of Persons in Different Caste Categories

Caste	*HA*	*HB*	*HC*	*LX*	*LY*	*LZ*
High	4	38	276	6	127	68
Peasant	160	98	76	73	34	200
Service	34	187	61	28	—	216
Harijan	160	101	113	164	—	9

This grouping of castes has been done by putting the "structural neighbours" together. However, the sheer numerical strength of a group may be crucial in a democracy, if the group chooses to let its strength be felt. Taking our first and last categories as "high" and "low", and the middle two categories as "medium" ritual status groups, the percentage of voters in each caste show that ritual status is not matched with numerical dominance. There is no consistent pattern in distribution of population on caste basis (Table 30).

TABLE 30

Selected Villages by Percentage of Voters and Caste Status of Two Numerically Dominant Caste Groups

Village	*Two Most Numerous Groups*	*Caste Status*	*Percent of Voters*
HA	1	Medium	36
	2	Low	41
HB	1	Medium	37
	2	Low	18
HC	1	High	47
	2	Low	14
LX	1	Low	56
	2	Medium	33
LY	1	High	81
	2	Medium	19
LZ	1	Medium	24
	2	Medium	14

However, there is uniformity in the more developed villages on the composition of their second largest group which comes from the lowest castes. The numerically most dominant groups

are the first and second status groups in five out of the six of our selected villages. Whereas the more developed villages are inhabited by the largest group coming from primarily cultivating castes or those having managerial skill in agriculture, two of the less developed villages have predominantly Brahmin or Harijan population. The former caste (Brahmin), being attracted by its traditional calling or white-collar jobs, has the largest share of village land but the least interest in its development. The latter (Harijan) are consistent in their low position both in ritual and economic status and mainly provide agricultural labour. The third less-developed village is primarily a peasant caste village, though Brahmins play an active role in checking the development of village and contributing to the social conflict in the community.

Agrarian Structure and Village Resources

Territoriality is the essential basis of a rural community. In a sense, its basic emblem is the land owned by its inhabitants, on which depends the economy, policy and social organization of the community. In the context of development, the amount and distribution of land is important but more significant is the use made of land for maximizing produce. The decision to do so depends on the persons owning the land, the size of the holding, stake in its cultivation and willingness to invest in inputs such as better seeds, fertilizers, human, animal and machine power, material assets etc. The collectivity of individual owners of these resources and the optimum use made of them contributes to the abundance of material rewards for the community.

The inter-village differences regarding land ownership, tenurial status, land holdings, area sown, irrigation coverage in kharif and rabi seasons, family workers and farm labourers employed, bullock power owned and technology used are given in Table 31.

There is a near absence of hired labour in the less developed villages. Perhaps progress in agriculture does not require the self-cultivation of land. For the various operations necessary for optimum results under modern agriculture, more hands are required. This explains the large hired labour force that is provided by the Harijans, in all the more developed villages.

TABLE 31

Selected Villages by Agrarian structure

	Villages							
	HA	*HB*	*HC*	*Total high*	*IX*	*LY*	*LZ*	*Total low*
A. Land								
(a) *Percentage af Land Owned by*								
(i) Three big cultivators	54	41	32	42	57	26	8	35
(ii) Next three cultivators	16	14	20	17	20	16	5	17
(iii) Next three cultivators	3	13	17	11	6	13	3	11
(iv) First n ne cultivators	73	68	69	70	83	55	16	63
(b) *Percentage of families paying land Revenue*								
(i) Rs. 10 to 25	17	30	27	26	33	30	40	36
(ii) Rs. 25 to 50	12	14	29	19	11	35	14	18
(iii) Rs. 50 and above	46	31	20	24	33	10	6	12
(c) *Tenurial Status*								
(i) No. of families giving land on lease/contract	3	—	4	7	4	16	11	31
(ii) Area given on lease	10	—	10	20	12	47	24	83
(iii) Percentage area owned given on lease/contract	3.2	—	2.5	2.1	10.9	38.5	16.1	21.7

TABLE 31 (Contd.)

(d) *Land holdings*								
Parcentage of families								
(i) Without land	63	30	25	40	53	—	40	39
(ii) Below 2.5 acres	6	25	25	18	25	25	44	46
(iii) 2.5 to 5 acres	8	27	16	16	2	25	8	9
(iv) 5 to 10 acres	11	8	6	9	15	30	4	10
(v) 10 acres and above	12	10	28	17	5	20	4	6
(e) *Area Sown*								
(i) No. of acres operated	309	223	353	885	95	87	149	331
(ii) Per capita acres operated	0.82	0.53	0.67	0.67	0.35	0.54	0.26	0.34
(iii) Percentage area operated irrigated								
a) Kharif	89.0	91.9	33.4	67.6	93.7	95.4	18.8	60.4
b) Rabi	28.9	54.7	71.6	51.8	27.6	9.2	34.9	26.0
(iv) Percentage area sown more than onec	37.0	62.0	75.9	63.3	30.0	9.2	40.0	28.7
B. Labour								
Workers engaged in Cultivation:								
(i) Family workers	34	127	98	259	45	32	78	155
(ii) Farm labourers	49	16	45	110	11	—	4	15
(iii) Acres operated per worker	3.7	1.6	2.5	2.4	1.6	2.7	1.8	2.0
(iv) No. of labourers per owner cultivator	1.90	0.24	1.00	0.84	0.55	0.00	0.08	0.16
C. Cattle								
(i) Acres operated per bullock	4.0	2.5	3.7	3.5	3.1	2.4	2.2	2.4
(ii) Milch Cattle per family	1.5	1.0	1.1	1.3	0.6	0.8	0.3	0.4
(iii) Other Cattle (Percentage of total cattle)	29.0	25.6	21.0	23.2	35.4	11.7	18.4	20.0

TABLE 31 (Contd.)

D. Technology								
(i) Pumpsets/Tubewells	9*	7	2	18	1	—	3	4
(ii) Tractors	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
(iii) Iron ploughs	22	7	18	47	5	3	14	22
(iv) Chaff cutters	16	28	20	74	10	3	18	31
(v) Cane crushers	5	14	23	42	6	1	14	21
(vi) Threshers	2	1	11	14	—	—	—	—
(vii) Bicycles	25	11	34	70	14	—	11	25
(viii) Motor cycles/Vehicles	6	—	—	6	—	—	—	—
(ix) No. of processing units	3	2	—	5	—	—	—	—
(x) Radio/Transistor sets	14	2	6	22	—	—	—	—

*Four completed but not yet commissioned.

On the other hand, since the big landholders either give substantial portion of land on sharecropping basis, or just keep it as a status symbol rather than a production factor in less developed villages, the lack of interest in modernization of agriculture is understandable. Of the total area of land sown, 63 percent of it is sown more than once in the more developed villages while their counterparts have only 29 percent of land under double cropping.

While the irrigation coverage of sown area is roughly the same in all villages (60 to 68%) in kharif season, the percentage of area irrigated in rabi season varies from a low of 9 in the less developed villages to a high of 72 in the more developed villages. State works i.e., canals and tubewells, are the main source of irrigation in these villages. However, the former being rain-fed and the latter on account of a very large area under their command serve only as a defence against droughts and failure of crops. Therefore these fail to help the farmer to change his crop calendar and grow such crops and varieties which require irrigation water at frequent intervals and in large volume. Thus, the need for investment in such irrigation system which could be depended throughout the year. Each of the three developed villages have made such investments and harnessed ground water to their advantage. With the availability of assured irrigation water they have not only maximised production per unit of area but also taken to multiple cropping compared to slow moving villages where such a breakthrough has yet to take place. Thus the percentage of area sown more than once and the area placed under such crops which increase the income potential is markedly different in the two sets of villages.

The concentration of land is significantly higher in the progressive communities, seventy percent of the land is in the hands of nine big cultivators. The pattern, though to a lesser extent, is the same in the relatively backward villages. Not only is the total amount of land more concentrated among few individuals, but also the size of individual landholding is larger in more developed villages. The number of individuals paying a land revenue of more than Rs. 50, is double the number of such payees in the less developed villages. These large holdings are cultivated with the help of permanent and attached labour.

TABLE 32

Selected Villages by Quantum of Agricultural Inputs

	Villages							
	HA	*HB*	*HC*	*Total high*	*LX*	*LY*	*LZ*	*Total low*
1. Area Covered under (Acres)								
(A) High Yielding Paddy								
(a) Year of Introduction	5	5	5	15	1	—	5	6
(b) Year of Inquiry	50	48	65	163	9	—	27	36
(B) High Yielding Wheat								
(a) Year of Introduction	8	1	9	18	4	—	9	13
(b) Year of Inquiry	55	122	75	252	20	—	20	40
2. Chemical Fertilizers Applied (M. Tonnes)								
(a) Year of Introduction of HYVs	7.4	0.5	17.8	25.7	1.1	0.2	8.8	10.1
(b) Year of Inquiry	30.4	5.3	45.8	81.5	3.1	0.3	23.4	26.8
3. Pesticides: Area Covered (Acres)								
(a) Year of Introduction of HYVs	30	12	15	57	5	—	10	15
(b) Year of Inquiry	106	121	105	332	10	—	25	35
4. Institutional Credit Supplied								
(A) *No. of cultivators supplied credit*								
(a) Year of Introduction of HYVs	28	3	30	61	2	8	20	30
(b) Year of Inquiry	27	40	32	99	15	10	25	50

TABLE 32 (Contd.)

(B) *Amount of credit supplied (000 Rs.)*								
(a) Year of Introduction of HYVs	6	1	5	12	1	2	3	6
(b) Year of Inquiry	21	9	8	38	5	2	5	12
(C) *Credit per Acre operated (Rs.)*								
(a) Year of Introduction of HYVs	20	4	14	14	10	23	20	18
(b) Year of Inquiry	70	40	23	43	53	23	30	36

Very few families get land cultivated on the sharecropping or contract basis. The more developed villages have a higher percentage of bullocks, milch cattle and other cattle. They also have a sizeable amount of mechanized implements and power driven pumping sets. The processing units are another progressive feature of development. Thus village level physical resources are significantly different in the two sets of villages.

As indicated before, the designation of the villages studied as most and least developed in the three oldest Blocks was based on the opinion of Block officials about the villages. To see whether this was an objective selection, inter-village comparison of agricultural inputs was made. (Table 32). The differences between the two sets of villages in the use of almost all types of inputs is growing and it is widening over the years. One exception is the large amount of credit supplied to the less developed villages. Obviously, the credit is not being used for the purpose of advancing agriculture. It has been reported that credit is issued to those who show land as security. In the less developed villages, the land owners are not necessarily cultivators. Since loan is available to them, they take advantage of it but not for enriching the soil. The reason for not developing agricultural resources is due to the belief that if the produce from land increases, the sharecropper will have a larger portion too. Those who do not own land, have no security to offer for loan. Thus a sizeable amount of land is starved of necessary inputs, consequently poor yields.

Community Projects

Recognizing the need of people's participation in the development of their community by making their own decisions and using their resources to follow through, the state offered the incentive of providing financial assistance for projects initiated by a community. The extension agency was to assist in the planning and execution of such projects. Such endeavours require leadership which can command consensus and cooperation for the pooling of resources for the common good. It also requires that identification and loyalty resides in the village rather than the sub-system of family, caste or faction.

The underlying assumption in community projects is that such joint efforts develop group sentiments, giving a conscious-

TABLE 33

Selected Villages by Community Works, Total Cost and People's Participation

(High adoption villages)

Name of the village	*Community work undertaken*	*Time taken*		*Stage of construction*	*Total cost of the work (Rs.)*	*Contribution in (Rs.) by*			*Breakup of Peoples' contribution*		
		Year in which started	*Year in which completed*			*Government*	*Panchayat*	*Peoples contribution*	*Cash (Rs.)*	*Labour value (Rs.)*	*Land & other material value (Rs.)*
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
HA	1. Pavement of street	1957-58	1957-58	Completed	600	200	—	400	300	100	—
	2. Construction of drinking water well	1959-60	1959-60	—do—	600	500	—	100	—	100	—
	3. ,,	1952-53	1952-53	—do—	300	—	—	300	—	300	—
	4. Construction of culvert	1957-58	1957-58	—do—	600	—	—	600	200	400	—
	5. Construction of kutcha approach road	1957-58	1957-58	—do—	500	—	—	500	—	500	—
Total works:	5				2600	700	—	1900	500	1400	—

TABLE 33 (Contd.)

HB	1. Pavement of street	1952-53	1952-53	Completed	1600	800	—	800	—	800	—
	2. Bridge on the river	1961-65	1962-62	—do—	1050	450	—	600	—	600	—
	3. School building	1964-65	Not completed	suspended	1950	1600	—	350	350	—	—
	4. Construction of drinking water well	1954-55	1954-55	Completed	2000	420	—	1580	420	1160	—
	5. ,,	1956-57	1956-57	—do—	1500	400	—	1100	400	700	—
	,, Construction of kutcha irrigation channel	1959-60	1959-60	—do—	1500	700	—	800	—	800	—
	6. (length 1.4 furlongs)	1954-55	1954-55	—do—	400	—	—	400	—	400	—
	7. ,, 2.8 ,,	1960-61	1960-61	—do—	800	—	—	800	—	800	—
Total works:	8	—	—	—	10800	4370	—	6430	1170	5260	—
HC	1. School building	Sept. '60	Not completed	Suspended	5500	2500	400	2600	100	500	2000
	2. Payment of street	June' 62	Aug. '62	Completed	900	600	—	300	—	300	—
	3. Construction of kutcha road	1953-54	1953-54	—do—	250	—	—	250	—	250	—
	4. Construction of community centre	1960	1960	—do—	6000	1000	—	5000	5000	—	—

TABLE 33 (Contd.)

	5. Construction of Seed Store (Sub-depots of Agri-Dept.)	1962-63	1962-63	—do—	2700	2000	Land worth Rs. 700	—	—	—	—
	6 & 7. Repair of two drinking water wells	1959-60	1959-60	—do—	200	200	—	—	—	—	—
Total works:	7	—	—	—	15550	6300	1100	8150	5100	1050	2000
Total High adoption	20	—	—	—	28900	11370	1100	16400	6770	7710	2000
Average Works per High adoption village	6.7	—	—	—	9633	3790	367	5467	2257	2570	667
LX	1. Construction of one drinking water well	1967-68	1968-69	Completed	1200	500	—	700	—	700	—
										(Low adoption villages)	
LY	..... No Community work undertaken in this village										
LZ	1. Construction of one drinking water well	1959-60	1959-60	Completed	1000	500	—	500	—	500	—
Total Low adoption villages:	2	—	—	—	2200	1000	—	1200	—	1200	—
Average Work per Low adoption village	0.7	—	—	—	333	733	—	400	—	400	—

ness of competence in solving problems and a sense of accomplishment when an undertaking is completed. In the course of time, cooperation may become an established characteristic. Table 33 enumerates the projects undertaken, completed/abandoned in the selected villages. It may be noted that most of the projects under social welfare were completed before 1960. The reason for this was the shift in the planning for social change to a more pronounced strategy of intensive agricultural development. As expected, taking community-projects completed by people's initiative as an indicator of people's participation, the less developed villages show scant cooperation. Whatever be the motivations behind such group undertaking, it does reflect the ability of a group for joint action.

Except for a drinking water well each in two of the less developed villages, no work of community undertaking worth naming, is visible. To involve the people in a common cause requires strong and respected leadership. But the one thing all of the less developed villages share is the active factionalism expressed in disputes and litigation cases over property resulting from mutual jealousies and hatred. There are law cases in each of the three villages between individuals and organisations (Village Panchayat), between one caste and another, between factions and within the castes. By first hand observations of the atmosphere prevailing in these village communities, one can sense the tension and all-pervading mistrust among villagers. The leadership in democratic institutions is contested and those who come into power are not development-oriented.

In more developed villages in the last three polls all the leaders have been returned to office by a unanimous vote. In two instances, the leaders come from numerically dominant caste, but in one case are from a ritually dominant caste constituting only a couple of households. Their strength lies in commanding the support of numbers and, more than that, in the skill and expertise they have in agriculture. Their interest in village welfare is inspired by egoistic impulses in some cases and altruistic motives in others.

Summary of findings regarding inter-village differences and development

The analysis of villages undertaken in this chapter was to determine associations between village characteristics and the level of development. With the larger view of finding socio-cultural factors significant for the acceptance or rejection of items offered under planned social change and their implications for modernization of peasants in this region, the inter-village comparisons provide the necessary background.

The village scene studied for this piece of research shows, like many others, the legacy of the past princely rule and the British revenue collecting administration. During this era certain families were given the opportunities and offices for collection of revenue from the peasants who in turn helped themselves to the bulk of the land either as gifts or as an acquisition from one who failed to pay. While legislation has cut down the size of the spoils, inequalities remain. At the top of the hierarchy are a class of people who have gained the maximum benefits of political independence, economic planning and policy. Having partly lost the power enjoyed under ex-rulers, they have been quick to recognize the economic and political advantages under a democracy. Where they are numerically dominant, they are in a strong position to exploit the dependent population. Where they are few in numbers they have been able to enlist the support of the majority by seeking for them such facilities as can be more easily obtained through their influence.

Yet one condition for continuing dominance is an active interest in land; not so much by self-cultivation as by being on the scene. Thus, we see that in all the three more developed villages, the powerful sections of the community are not merely landowners but also the active tillers, supervisors and managers of land. Since the majority of the village population provides agricultural labour or services to them and are also from low caste status, they do not constitute any threat to the continued leadership of those who held power under the feudal structure. There are no rivals to this leadership. The picture is one of balanced inequalities. The joint family is favoured among the higher castes, peasant families and by the relatively better off sections of the village. The role of literacy and

education varies from one group to another. Among the land owning non-cultivating segment of population, it dissociates from the village culture. The peasant castes are able to maintain links between those having jobs in city and agriculture, thus education pays off to them. There are many with school education who continue to remain active in tilling of the soil. Among the landless, it is the only means of social ascendency.

In all the villages, there are sharp inequalities regarding ownership of land. But the less developed villages show a diffused agrarian structure having many categories: peasant owner cultivator, owner cultivator cum tenant cultivator, owner/tenant cultivator-cum agricultural labourer and absentee landowners. Corresponding to economic relations, is a diffused social hierarchy. There are no markedly dominant groups or individuals who support the total social system. Consequently, highly faction-ridden, negatively competitive, non-cooperative communities emerge and development is impeded. It is difficult for the individuals to name a leader because alliances frequently change, depending on the patronage of landowning individuals.

Apparently the patterns of land distribution and the emerging hierarchy is subsumed under caste. But it is at the bottom of the hierarchy where similarity is pronounced. The landless agricultural labourers are also from the low castes. Their plight remains the same irrespective of the village level of development. In the upper and the intermediary levels, social power is necessarily determined by the material base. The more developed villages exhibit a uniform pattern of single caste dominance, though in each case the caste is different: Kurmis in first, Thakurs in second and Bhumiars in third. While the first and last enjoy numerical dominance too, the second makes up the leanness of numbers by a highly altruistic leadership commanding apparently willing subordination by fellow villagers. Earlier they drew their influence from administrative, caste and class structure, now democracy brings them new strength. Whatever be the social function of conflict, in the villages observed for this study, the overall development of a community is a function of village cohesiveness. The basis of this cohesiveness and its ethics is a different question, however. If the goal is "community" development, it is far

from achieved. If it is increase in production, there is increasing realization of the same. The "oil-stain effect" that this type of development is expected to achieve in widespread coverage in the long run, is yet to be seen.

The less developed villages, on the other hand, show conflict which may very well be the product of social change since abolition of Zamindari. In all of these villages, Brahmins were vested with the public office of village headman and enjoyed their prestige because of high ritual status and ownership of large amount of land. These landowners do not cultivate the land themselves, nor take any interest in its management. They have always have been giving portion of their land for share cropping and keeping the rest more as status symbol than for any profitable use of it. As a result the class of tenants, who are also part owners, always resented the landowning Brahmins. Unlike the agricultural labourers of the more developed villages, these tenants are not totally dependent on landowners and also do not suffer from very low status, though partly dependent on landowners' patronage for continued right to tenancy. With adult franchise they have become conscious of their newly found political power. As a result, there is widespread conflict and mutual non-cooperation. The outcome is little development of the village, because those who are the tillers of the soil have limitations built in the agrarian land structure checking them from acceptance of modern agricultural technology.

CHAPTER FIVE

Correlates of Individual Innovativeness

In a grand strategy of planned change which seeks the transformation of the total society, one of the crucial tasks is that of changing the outlook of hundreds of thousands of individuals, the overwhelming majority of whom are the peasants, the providers of the chief dynamics of development.[1] Thus, in the rural society, a peasant has been vested with the right of economic, political and social participation in order to attain the goal of equality and rationality. To what extent he is able to exercise this right is determined by a large range of factors.

We have seen in the villages under study that the focal point of the village community is the collectivity of major land owners around whom other castes and groups evolve.

The unit of this social system is not the individual as an entity striving towards the attainment of "goals." Caste, family and village—in that order—mould behaviour patterns, aspirations and group action. The goals themselves are differently defined for the different segments of society. There is a limit to the accessibility to goals. Only certain members of the society have an excessive share in power, wealth and status. Levels of aspirations, opportunities of work and behaviour, feelings of deprivation or conduct of component actors are relative to the institutionalized expectations for each strata. The supporting social sanctions strengthen the base of inequality resting on the economic edifice. Those who have previously

[1] *Five Year Plan: An Introduction.* (New Delhi: Publications Division, Government of India), 1951.

established a "vested interest" in the distribution of rewards and sanctions and derive privileges from the existing set up, see opportunities like a new method of production, or a new institution, as means of gaining additional power.

Indian village community is composed of many individuals and groups whose decision-making is structurally limited because of their social placement at the bottom of the local hierarchy. Constitutional provisions, social legislation and state assistance have been directed toward reducing the extremes of social and economic inequality. However, in the absence of a basic change in the distribution of resources, and because of the dependence of a large section of population on a handful of individuals who control the community's assets, the effective intervention of programmes of change has either not taken place or has been detrimental to the strata which needed it most.

The response of peasants in the stratified rural structure to the alternative providing for a life based on equality and rationality will be largely determined by the extent to which he can perceive the relative advantage of conforming to the social system of his family-caste-village axis and the set of new norms offered in the method of community development. The latter is essentially oriented to encourage individual decision making and the exercise of responsibility for increasing personal as well as social welfare.

Two decades of planned change in India has had a widespread influence on the people's image of the possibility and probability of change. The sense of hopelessness in the face of ignorance about alternatives to traditional life-ways has given way to the awareness that human intervention can increase life opportunities. Even if when an individual cannot realize the gains, he has a demonstrated and effective proof of benefits achieved by others before his eyes. He is also well aware of the nature of effort needed and the appropriate agency of development to approach for help. Out of a total of 7,224 respondents in a national survey, 86.6 percent know about the community development programme.[2] Why the knowledge

[2]Lalit K. Sen and Prodipto Roy, *Awareness of Community Development in Village India*, Preliminary report, NICD, 1967.

about alternatives fails to be translated into social action, leads to scientific curiosity and sociological inquiry.

Irrespective of the consequences of planned change, "Planning is as much a part of Indian society as caste."[3] It is thus an important obligation of social science to describe the conditions and factors acting as restraints on the role of explicit decision making by the individual as well as the intervening facilitators promoting an environment in which new ideological, technological, or economic factors take root.

In this section of the report,, family has been taken as the basic unit of social interaction and the head of the family as the individual who is assumed to be the crucial decision maker about the acceptance of this or that item of change. The major focus of study is not to enumerate the number of innovations accepted as such, but to view innovativeness as a characteristic which is an index to a modern personality. The significant area of emphasis seems to be increase in production. Since innovativeness is a relative concept, the respondents were categorized by their degree of innovativeness as evident in acceptance of new agricultural practices. Further, an attempt is made to determine the extent of correlation between innovativeness and certain independent variables. These are the personal, social, structural, economic, communication, and attitudinal variables. A sample of 106 peasants from a population stratified in terms of social and economic hierarchy were interviewed to determine the above relationships.

Personal and Family Variables. In order to measure the degree of innovativeness, twelve innovations in agriculture were taken and one score was given for each year from the first adoption of a practice till the present date. The maximum score is counted from the year of official introduction in the area. From the often listed variables, age has always been considered a significant one in the decision-making process. In the crude sense, it is a measure of the duration of participation in the social system. Thus the older one is, the greater the

[3]David Pocock, "Social Anthropology: Its Contribution to Planning," in *The Crisis of Indian Planning*, Paul Streaton and Michael Lipton (eds.) (Bombay: Oxford University Press), 1968.

power of decision making for the family. The expectation for such a correlation between age and innovativeness is contrary to the general view which emphasizes youth as a period of life more prone to change. The bulk of the respondents are between the ages of 35 and 55, while only 16 to 17 percent are below 35. Innovators in the more developed villages tend to be a little older than the other adopter categories. In the less-developed villages, the innovators are younger than most of the other farmers. Thus, the coefficient of correlation at the 5 percent level is positive but non-significant for the former, and negatively non-significant for the latter. One fact which may be noted here is that the maximum adoption score for a single practice is 14, which means the peasants were in their thirties when they first adopted a practice. Thus the hypothesis that the younger are more innovative is partially supported by our data.

More than 50 percent of the respondents in the sample can neither read nor write. Another quarter of them have three to four years of schooling and the remaining portion have education beyond this level. Yet the innovators have an average of 7 to 8 years of schooling in the selected villages. That the more innovative are also more educated is supported by findings of this study.

Since a rural family often consists of adult sons, brothers, uncles and other relatives, the total education score of the adult members of the family (above 21) may have a bearing on openness to change and acceptance of new ideas. It is expected that the "rub-off" effect of enlightened family members may create an environment of discussion of alternatives. The correlation between innovativeness and family education is positive and significant at the 1 pereent level for respondents in both sets of villages.

The extended kinship structure of the rural family is unique in Indian society. It has been held guilty of checking individualism and fostering parasitism, and of being dysfunctional for the requirements of modern agriculture. Our data shows joint family is a norm and reality. All of the early innovators and three-fourths of the other respondents come from joint families. Because of a dichotomy used for family

classification, correlation was not possible. The actual percentage of respondents in each adopter category is shown in Table 34.

TABLE 34

Respondents by Membership in Joint-family

Village	*Inn.*	*Innovative Categories*[4]			
		EA	*EM*	*LM*	*L*
More developed	100%	100%	78%	70%	72%
Less developed	66%	66%	60%	57%	50%

Not only the joint family, but also the size of household contributes to the higher adoption of new practices. Perhaps the intensive agricultural demands go well with the provision of family labour in larger number. In all the villages the size of family has strong (inferred) correlation with the dependent variable—acceptance of modern agricultural practices.

While size and type refer to the structure and function of family, the relevance for productive aspect lies in the number of members who are in the adult working force. It is expected that the larger the number of earners, the higher their contribution to the family's means and the higher the adoption of new practices. This is not borne out by our finding. The correlation between number of earners and innovativeness was found to be non-significant in all situations.

A family composed of members following diversified occupations may have more family income and thus may contribute more to innovativeness. Thus non-farm occupations and non-farm incomes were taken as indicators of diversified employment within the family and it was assumed that more income will be fed back into agriculture. Both measures have a highly significant coefficient of correlation at the 1 percent level in the progressive villages but are non-significant in their counterparts (Table 35). Perhaps it is not the number of earners that is important, but rather the nature of employment. In the high adoption villages non-farm occupations are followed by

[4]The abbreviations are for innovator (Inn), early adopters (EA), early majority (EM), late majority (LM) and laggards (L).

members of well-off families and are mostly jobs in administration, teaching. etc., which bring remuneration. In the less-developed villages, this is not so, extra income is used for consumption.

The total literacy in the family shows positive correlation in both village categories but is non-significant in the less-developed villages. There is a positive relation between education of the respondent and the family education (r=.49).

TABLE 35

Relation Between Personal and Family Variables and Innovativeness.[5]

Variable	*Correlation Coefficient* HV	LV
Age	.25	.11
Education of Respondent	.54*	.47*
Family Education	.65*	.55*
Size of Family	.39*	.46*
Number of Earners	.19	.35
Non-farm Occupation	.65*	.04
Non-farm Income	.57*	.33
Literacy	.51*	.18

*Significant at 1 percent level.

Strictly speaking, there is no immediate relevance of formal education for agricultural community. But its indirect significance lies in the essence of the learning process that unlocks the mental apathy to admit "new" things. The rise in aspiration for education among the rural people has been fantastic during the last decade. Education is being increasingly sought, both because of its practical utility and also because of the symbolic prestige it brings. "The expenditure on education has increased from 153 crores in First Plan to 1,210 in Fourth Plan and during the same period the number of primary schools increased from 20,967 to 4,08,930." We find there is a non-significant correlation between educational aspirations and

[5]For zero order correlations an r value of .33 and .26 is required for significance at 1 percent and 5 percent respectively in more developed villages (N=60). The corresponding values for less developed villages (N=45) are .37 and .28.

innovativeness (.09). The relation should be read as aspirational levels being independent of innovativeness. The desire for education for children is uniformally expressed; irrespective of change in other attitudes.

Social Status Variables

Caste has always been emphasized as the basis of status in Indian society.[6] Those who rank high ritually are also the upper class. Under the impact of modernizing forces, caste is not obliterated, but has more relevance to regulating personal relationships. In order for a caste to dominate a social system, control of productive activities is needed. When removed from this context, caste and class may exist as parallel hierarchies. Therefore, the decisive dominance of upper castes needs to be shown and not taken for granted.

Three measures of social status have been taken. These are: caste, material possessions and social participation. These three constitute the relational variables that define the type of position occupied in the social system. Conceptually, the ascribed status is separable from the rank obtained by possession of tangible material symbols of wealth like an impressive house, modern gadgets, own transportation, etc. Similarly, the extent of participation in the institutional network of the system reflects greater identification with that system. Empirically, the three may derive support from each other. The correlations found between caste and innovativeness is positive and highly significant in respondents from more developed villages, but is non-significant though positive in those from less developed villages. The two distinct categories of high castes and low castes, large landowners and labourers in the more developed villages support this finding. Sharp divisions of castes and classes exist in which the upper strata maintain social system with no obvious social conflict between the prestigious groups and those providing labour. On the other hand, in the less developed villages those who show initiative and enterprise are not necessarily from the upper strata. The faction groups dissipate community power and the resulting alliances mainly serve political purposes such as; winning an election

[6]See *India 1968* (New Delhi: Publication Division, Government of India).

and/or providing physical strength and witnesses in the fighting of law suits. These factions do not constitute interest groups striving for economic prosperity or social supremacy.

If other-worldliness and contentment were the noble features of peasantry, they are no longer visible; at least in the status connotation of material possessions. Next to land, the possession of a pucca house is a strong desire as are more farm buildings, mechanized implements, pumping sets, livestock, etc. Even those who are not well-to-do have a fascination for wrist-watches, transistor radios, etc. These are the visible expressions of the material well-being of a person. It is assumed that those who have a higher level of living, as indicated by material possessions, may also set higher standards of living and thus accept more innovations in order to add to their prosperity. Besides, the concrete possessions speak of the financial worthiness of a person to undertake risks and to incur the initial expenditure for new undertakings.

As expected, the extent of innovativeness is highly correlated with the amount of material possessions. To what extent the economic status is a function of one's caste was seen by partialling out the effect of caste from the relationship between material possessions and innovativeness. This does not appear to be relevant for respondents from less developed villages as the correlations between caste and innovativeness ($r=.23$) or material possession and caste ($r=.23$) are non-significant even at the 5 percent level. Among those selected from more developed villages, the relationship between caste and innovativeness after removing the effect of material possessions is lowered from $r=.61$ to $r=.40$, but still remains significant at 1 percent level.

While the hypothesis is supported among the respondents in the more modern villages, it is partially invalidated in the traditional ones, where it is not caste but the level of living that provides the necessary means for adopting new practices.

The third indicator of one's social status, the extent of social participation, is positively related to innovativeness and significant at the 1 percent level for respondents in both the more developed ($r=.88$) and less developed ($r=.59$) villages. It is, however, weakened by controlling material possessions

and the correlations for the respective situations after this control are r=.57 and r=.44.

The membership or office holders in the less developed villages do not necessarily come from the upper castes; thus the correlation between social participation and innovativeness is non-significant at the 5 percent level (r=.22). It is, however, a positive and significant one among respondents from more developed villages (r=.40). Thus in the less developed category of respondents, innovativeness is associated with the level of living and through it with social participation. While in the more developed ones, caste combined with level of living is significantly correlated with social participation. However, without economic support the correlation between caste and social participation not only becomes non-significant but is a negative one (r=-.06). Apparently it means that the relationship should be read as follows: the lower the adoption of agricultural practices, the higher the social participation of respondents. This slight tendency may be interpreted as participation of all individuals in village institutions; irrespective of their adoption score, therefore weak correlation with innovativeness (Table 36).

TABLE 36

A Matrix of Correlation Between Social Status Variables and Innovativeness

A. Respondents from more developed villages.				
	a	b	c	d
a. Innovativeness	x	.61*	.85*	.88*
b. Caste		x	.51*	.40*
c. Material possessions			x	.86*
d. Social participation				
B. Respondents from less developed villages.				
	a	b	c	d
a. Innovativeness	x	.23	.70*	.59*
b. Caste		x	.23	.22
c. Material possessions			x	.45*
d. Social participation				

*Significant at 1 percent level.

Economic Variables

The extent of land owned by an individual peasant is considered significant for decisions about scale of operation and capacity for accepting many modern items of innovations. Yet the ownership of land by itself is not decisive of modern orientation. It is the use to which land is put that makes it a productive asset. Besides, the actual operational land-holding may not be wholly owned by the cultivator. The law still provides for sharing produce with those who assist in the raising of produce. Further, with the exception of machinery, the size of land-holding is also not prohibitive to the acceptance of improved agricultural practices.

It was a difficult task to find out the operational unit which each respondent cultivated. This was so because of legal fears on the part of the one who lease out land and also the danger of loosing the contract by the one who is granted the lease. In the more developed villages, the land owners are owner cultivators, too, while in less developed villages a majority of the large landowners lease out part of land on a share-cropping basis. This is a crucial difference which may throw light on the relation between landowner and cultivation.

The amount of total land owned and the adoption of agricultural practices show a positive and significant co-efficient of correlation ($r=.68$) at the 1 percent level for the more developed villages. A positive but non-significant correlation ($r=.35$) at the 5 percent level is found in the less developed villages where the actual operational unit of land is significantly related to innovativeness ($r=.44$). Since respondents in the more developed villages are owner cultivators, their operational unit is the same as total land owned.

Next to land is the input of human labour which is provided by family members or hired men. Because of the tenancy system in the more developed villages, the landowners are actively engaged in managing their lands and depend on the labour provided by the lower castes. The early adopters of innovations are from those castes which had experience with management of land revenue and now find cultivation their mainstay. They also have high or intermediate caste status which means that their women do not work in the field. The family labour is non-significant ($r=.02$), while hired labour

and innovativeness has a strong and significant correlation (r = .77).

In less developed villages, the position is just the reverse. Here the peasants combine their own small holdings with leased plots which they cultivate with their own family labour. Since the larger landholders depend mostly on the tenant for cultivating their land, the correlation between innovativeness and hired labour is non-significant (r=.07). However, with family labour the correlation is positive and significant (r=.42). Those who cultivate by leasing in land are mostly from the peasant castes. Thus, manual labour is not shunned. Furthermore, the operational unit is manageable with family labour. The large landholders do not have cultivation as their primary occupation and are therefore apathetic to it.

In addition to human labour, the use of animal and mechanized power are contributing factors of production. Innovativeness is strongly related to both these forms of power (Table 37).

TABLE 37

Zero Order Correlations of Innovativeness with Economic Variables.

Variables	*Zero Order Correlation* HV	LV
Operational Unit	.68*	.44*
Family Labour	.02	.42*
Hired Labour	.77*	.07
Number of Bullocks	.74*	.51*
Mechanization	.77*	.61*
Credit Utilization	.54*	.73*

*Significant at 1 percent level.

It may be observed that the level of living as indicated by the possession of material assets, provides the economic base for making agriculture a profitable occupation. After controlling the effect of material possession in the correlation of innovativeness with operational unit, the relationship is a slightly negative non-significant one. This means an increment in the size of landholding does not mean an increment in innovativeness. The intervening role of material possessions establishes the correlation in positive significance.

"New" agriculture requires substantial inputs for which capital investment is essential. The cooperative credit societies provide credit for the different agricultural seasons in cash or in seed, fertilizer, etc. Thirtyfive percent of the selected cultivators in the more developed villages and sixty percent in less developed villages take little credit, yet there is a positive correlation between credit and innovativeness. The latter group of respondents (in less developed villages) have land on share cropping basis along with their own small land holding. Land is required as security for taking a loan. Since they can only have small sums loaned out to them on the basis of land owned, they apply scientific procedures and modern inputs to their own land holding. That which is cultivated on a share crop basis is neglected because the owner does not invest in it as increased produce means an increased share for the share cropper. The owner is supposed to bear half of the expense of hired irrigation and other inputs, but he seldom does so. He tells the sharecropper to make the investment and deduct the cost from the owner's share of produce at harvest time. The promise is not strictly adhered to. In fact, the share croppers are constantly nagged and accused of cheating and keeping back the produce and also harrassed by visits from the owners who are checking on them, as a result the sharecropper is neither able to devote attention to his own piece of land nor satisfy the owner who always overestimates the productivity of his land without doing anything to improve it.

In spite of the exploitation by the landowners, the less developed villages show some innovativeness due to the desire of the sharecropper to make the best of the given conditions. While he lives in the fear of losing his contract for leased-in land, he also entertains a faint hope of land legislation by which he may become the master of the land on which he struggles hard to bear fruit.

Inter-Systemic Variables

The process of democratization in Indian society brings the rural world into closer participation in the stream of national life. The rigidities of caste, joint family and religion loosen with the intersystemic participation of the isolated village community. An individual may interact with the social system

of the urban world through direct visits or through communication with persons employed outside who come back and bring back a part of the less tradition bound culture. The villager may participate in the worldview of scientific and rational applications as advocated by the change agents. Another way by which he shares in the values of the larger social system is by communication. He may himself be parochial, but if he seeks opinion from a friend, neighbour or counsellor who has more knowledge or a higher intersystemic participation, it affects his own attitudes and behaviour. The assumption is that the higher the cosmopoliteness, mass media exposure, change agency contact and opinion leadership, the higher is likely to be the degree of innovativeness.

Zero order correlation could not be computed for opinion leadership as the distribution was highly skewed for some villages and in others no response was available. Similarly, because of the negligible presence of mass media in two of the three less developed villages, it is left blank in Table 38. The number of newspapers subscribed to or radio sets owned give an underestimate of mass media accessibility as one newspaper may be read by a dozen people and a much larger number receives the message by having others to read to them. It is a prestigious calling to read out to others and an occasion to be recognized as superior. Similarly, a radio is a status enhancing possession which is displayed in the front drawing room and tuned on at full pitch. The audience may vary from a few to a score of men listening and then discussing what they heard with their different social groups. If the receiving set is at the place of a big man, like the president of the village council or a wealthy landowner, the audience consists of the respective heads of different castes, who in turn diffuse the ideas among their fellow men.

All the inter-systemic variables are significantly correlated with innovativeness except the number of persons employed in urban centers (Table 38). Urban employment is probably a dissociative experience which takes a person away from active involvement in village economy. It may also be noted that diversified employment in the family is a contributory factor to additional capital for agriculture only when income is reaped back into it. But this is not always so. Thus while

non-farm income is positively and significantly related to innovativeness in both the more and less developed villages (r=.57 and r=.33), non-farm occupation alone is not.

TABLE 38

Zero Order Correlations of Innovativeness with Inter-Systemic Variables.

Variables	*Zero Order Correlations* *HV*	*LV*
Urban visits	.66*	.70*
Persons employed in city	.29	.25
Mass media exposure	.79*	—
Change agency contact	.82*	.86*

*Significant at 1 percent level.

When one still has roots in the rural culture through work and social living, urban contact is a modernizing experience. The major city near the selected population is Varanasi, a city of the "moral order" after Milton Singer. It is considered the heart of the Indian tradition and the soul of Hindu traditionalism on a par with Rome, Mecca or Jerusalem. Devout villagers visit it often to cremate a dead kin, to take a purifying bath in the Holy Ganges and to have "darshana" of the Supreme Lord Shiva, especially after a wish has been granted. But Varanasi also provides channels of modernization. It is the seat of higher learning, the center for the location of the Development Administration and the third tier for democratic decentralization for the district. One has to visit it for various secular purposes such as; applying for electricity connection, buying the latest variety of seed, or making rapairs on an implement. Urban contact has been found to be strongly correlated with innovativeness.

The most common medium of mass communication in the more developed villages is the radio. Most families reported that they bought the radio in 1965 to hear news of the Indo-Pakistani confrontation. Now the agricultural programme broadcast from Varanasi—Krishi Jagat—has become a favourite listening item. Other popular programmes are those on price bulletin and political news and those which broadcast songs

in local dialect. Newspaper is the next most common form of communication. As mentioned before, circulation is not related to the number of copies bought by the villagers. The frequent visitors to nearby town or city bring back copies. The local tea shop and the extension agent's office are other places where peasants go to read the news or are read to by others About 10 per cent of the respondents in the more developed areas report reading or listening to the magazines published and distributed by the Department of Agriculture. About 21 persons go to movies but confess their actions in a little guilty tone as it is considered not very respectable for a man to watch a film show. The selected respondents from the less developed villages show an utter lack of interest in mass media. From a total of 46 farmers three listened to the radio, five read the news or are read to and only one has seen a cinema.

The next measure of a peasant's inter-systemic participation is his contact with the agents of change who bring scientific knowledge and the necessary advice for using it. The most frequently contacted change agent is the V.L.W. whom 76 percent of the total selected respondents approach for seeking advice regarding a new variety of seed, fertilizer or loan application. Other functionaries contacted are the AEO, the Panchayat officer and B.D.O. (45 percent, 28 percent, and 10 percent, in that order).

How far is one's ability to participate in the larger system a function of one's level of living? Table 39 shows that both urban contact and exposure to mass media vary with one's level of living but contact with change agents still remains significant to innovativeness in spite of living level. This is a striking finding and is contrary to the general impression that the change agents' contact is limited to the few privileged upper-class villagers.

Since most of the agricultural operations are left to hired labour in the more developed villages, the landowners can devote themselves to extending their extra-village contacts. The selected respondents in less developed villages have to look after the land as well as personally attend to matters demanding visits to the city. Thus, the differences in the level of living do not vary with urban contact. A great mobility multiplier, in the physical sense at least, is the bicycle which

does not need to be fed like the bull for the bullock cart, and provides speedier transportation. In fact, many a villager makes a daily cycle trip to the nearby town or city as a matter of habit, or, as they say, "for digesting your food."

TABLE 39

Partial Correlations Between Innovativeness and Inter-Systemic Variables Controlling Level of Living

Variables	*Partial Correlations*	
	HV	*LV*
Urban visits	.11	.67*
Mass media exposure	.32*	—
Change agency contact	.48*	.75*

*Significant at 1 percent level. The significant values required for partial correlations are .32 (P=.01) and .25 (P=.05) for HV and corresponding ones for LV are .36 and .27.

Opinion Leadership

Social approval of one's actions and their legitimization by those who have a high rank and esteem in society, plays a significant role in decision making. It is expected that one seeks advice from those perceived as knowing more than one's own self, and that one seeks advice from different sources for different problems. Reaching out to others and looking to their involvement in one's personal problems also implies a certain amount of trust and presumes an atmosphere of social cohesion.

Peasants in the selected villages were asked to nominate two persons they consult for advice on (1) farm practice, (2) supply of input, and (3) credit. The question, "Whom do you consult for?" was not very well received by respondents from less developed villages. Their first reaction was, "we do not consult anyone for agriculture, because no one knows better." Nearly 37.7 percent did not name anyone consulted for advice. Those who did nominate someone showed a preference for one's caste man or faction leader; irrespective of his skill, knowledge or innovativeness. Only 20 percent of the respondents seek advice from the innovators or early adopters in the community. In one village, the respondents by-pass all the local leaders and consult the president of a neighbouring village

council. The innovators and early adopters, however, consult the VLW.

The nature of opinion leadership in the more developed villages shows some consistent pattern. While all of the innovators seek advice from VLW, the majority of the villagers (85 percent) seek the innovators and early adopters, or at least those having higher adoption scores than themselves for advice. Consultation of the more progressive villagers is confined mostly to advice on farm practices. For supply of inputs, the official agent gets nominated most frequently as he can tell the proper procedure for obtaining supplies.

Attitudinal Variables

It is arbitrary to designate change in attitudes as a precedent for innovativeness. In fact, the success achieved by acceptance of modern practices may be contributing to modern attitudes. Four indicators of favourable attitude toward agriculture were selected. The assumptions are:

1. peasants will accept scientific technology if they believe in increase in yield levels;
2. this acceptance will also prepare them for increased investment of money, time and energy,
3. such investment in turn will prepare them to shift from producing for subsistence to commercial orientation; and
4. this basic change will indicate a replacement of beliefs sacred regulation of the agricultural cycle by priestly advice to scientific instructions by the agricultural expert.

The questions asked to examine the above assumptions were not received well in the less developed villages. The response was an expression of shocked humiliation, especially for those who said it would be futile to say what they think if it cannot be actually translated. Lacking democratic traditions of expressing what one thought, it becomes difficult to formulate one's mental orientations into words. But when the words did come, the attitudes revealed were not different from those of the respondents in the more developed villages. This is

evident from Table 40. All the correlations are positive and highly significant. Perhaps agriculture is one area in which there is no scope for synthesis between tradition and modernity as a change in the culture of cultivation means a complete detraditionalization[7]. The cropping pattern, agricultural year, nature of inputs and attention requires an objective and calculative approach. One cannot use better varieties of seeds of wheat and sow them at a time when the village priest announces the auspicious timing, because the new varieties have to be necessarily sown during those days which have been declared inauspicious through the ages, e.g., the month of December when peasants did not touch the plough. The new varieties must be sown only during this period.

TABLE 40

Relationship Between Agricultural Adoption and Attitude to Agriculture.

Variables	*Zero Order Correlations* HV	LV
Belief in increased yield	.70*	.87*
Willingness for increased input	.87*	.75*
Commercial orientation	.78*	.76*
Rational orientation	.65*	.62*

*All Significant at 1 percent level.

Subsistence agriculture required broadcasting of seed left from last year's crop and one learned to expect sustenance if rains were good or accept starvation if the rains failed. Today the peasant knows that following scientific recommendations and practices for the different stages of farming will bring returns that far outweigh the costs incurred. It is difficult for the older villagers to believe what they see before their eyes. The average increase in paddy yield is 50 percent and wheat crop is six times larger under new varieties of crops and improved methods of cultivation. Thus the mental orientations of the peasants are no longer characterized by imperviousness to innovations or apathy. They know the benefits of accepting

[7]Also see, Surinder Jetley, "Modernizing Agriculture in an Indian Village Community," in S.K. Srivastava (ed.) *Tradition and Modernization* (Allahabad: Indian International Publications, 1976) p. 192.

modern technology and understand the economic rationale of increased productivity. When the changed attitudes cannot be harnessed into action, this has to be understood in terms of the inbuilt checks in the institutional infra-structure of the agrarian system.

The community development programme has started bearing fruit in a very crucial area of social life, i.e., change in attitudes. There is little doubt that two decades of the extension of scientific knowledge and developmental administration has brought about awareness and conviction among people that they can achieve control over and prosperity in agriculture. The next step is to provide means for moving from mental orientations to social action.

Are the changes in attitudes toward agriculture matched with value changes in other aspects of life? The four indicators selected to answer this question are: Deferred Gratification; Secular Orientation, Empathy, and Economic Pull. The assumptions are that those who are more innovative are likely to be persons prepared for postponing immediate satisfactions for future gains and also more prone to spend money on productive rather than consumptory items. They will be oriented to secular rather than sacred beliefs regarding health, family, education, caste status and social interaction. These individuals will also be more aware of the roles of other individuals, less attached to caste, family or village and more keen on preceiving economic self-interest.

To correlate Deferred Gratification with innovativeness, the respondents were asked to arrange in order of importance a list of items which indicated how they would like to spend their money if their income was doubled. The order given by the respondents is about the same in both categories of villages. The preferences in order of importance are: purchase of land, construction of house, expenditure on social ceremonies, investment in irrigation, increased agricultural inputs, pay off old debts, investment in machinery, deposit in bank and investment in education. This shows that desire for investment in productive items is very close to the wish to build social status symbols like an impressive house or large feast. Education, to which highest weight was given in scoring, does not rank high and this is surprising in the light of the earlier

finding that respondents in all categories express high educational aspirations. Perhaps, given the option, they would first fulfil needs other than education which is not considered a necessity but a means of social enhancement.

Underlying the entire effort of planned change is the idea of present sacrifices for maximizing future welfare. The respondents in more developed villages show that higher adoption is not related to a desire for immediate gratification when variations in material level are controlled. Probably the strong urge to show one's prosperity in immediate display is based on the faith that they have discovered the way to ever-increasing rewards for their efforts. The situation is different in the less developed villages. Here, the respondents living in the insecurity of their tenancy status, are accustomed to deprivation. They have always had their minds working on next year's contract of the piece of land that contributes to their living. Thus, deferred gratification is an insurance for an uncertain future.

The second orientation studied is the secularization of values and is confined to health, education, agriculture and norms relating to caste. There is a substantial change in belief in the evil eye, spirits and quacks. There is free mixing of children of all castes in the state-supported schools and the scientifically recommended agricultural practices get acceptance even when they clash with sacred beliefs. But the majority of respondents still think an illiterate Brahmin commands more respect than educated Harijan, that number of children one has depends on fate, and that the Harijans should be prohibited from using village drinking water wells and entering temples. The compact secular orientation score and adoption index of respondents are, however, significantly related.

Taking the "role of the other" is a reflection of a mind's capacity to understand others and appreciate their function for society. It may also be a sign of mental preparation for acting that role if the situation arises. In the ideal grass-roots democracy, every member of society is a potential leader. Three roles were suggested with which the respondents were asked to empathize. They were to suggest specific problems that could be solved in each of the roles. The roles are of village Pradhan, Block Pramukh and Zila Adhayaksh. These

roles are in democratic institutions and are filled by elected leaders at the levels of village, block and district. They are thus within the mental comprehension and imagination of their functions. The zero order correlations of innovativeness with empathy are strongly positive as seen in Table 41.

TABLE 41

Zero Order Correlations of Innovativeness with Selected Attitudinal Variables

Attitudinal Variables	*Zero Order Correlations* HV	LV
Deferred Gratification	.69*	.57*
Secular Orientation	.73*	.58*
Empathy	.71*	.59*
Economic Pull	.55*	.03
Educational Aspirations	.52*	.09

*Significant at 1 percent level.

The last cognitive aspect of change examines the preparedness of an individual to accept a more remunerative job if it means physical or social detachment from the traditional set up. Few of the respondents are prepared to accept a job traditionally followed by low castes even if it brings more income than they already have. The respondents from more traditional villages are also attached to their family and would not think of going against the wishes of the family. This is probably due to the importance of family labour, without which the family would have a serious problem. Respondents also show more attachment to their place of habitation and, irrespective of the differences in their adoption score, show more attachment to family, caste values and village. Hence, a non-significant correlation between innovativeness and economic pull is found in the less developed villages.

One might expect caste to be an important determinant of one's mental orientations. In the more developed villages caste has a significant correlation with innovativeness. However, it shows a very weak relationship with attitudes like secular orientation (r=.17), empathy (r=.03), and economic pull (r=.28). Since level of living has shown its suppressing nature in the relationship of innovativeness with other independent

variables, the removal of its effect on the values being discussed may be seen in Table 42. There is a sharp fall in the strength of correlations and only deferred gratification in the less developed villages and secular orientation in more developed villages maintain their joint occurrence with the adoption of agricultural practices.

TABLE 42

Partial Correlations of Innovativeness with Selected Attitudes, Controlling Level of Living.

Variables	*Partial Correlation* HV	LV
Deferred Gratification	.14	.45*
Secular Orientation	.42*	.23
Empathy	.12	.29
Educational Aspirations	.16	—
Economic Pull	.14	—

*Significant at 1 percent level.

In the light of the cohesive social atmosphere, the interdependence of low and high castes, and the higher level of modernization of the respondents in more developed villages, the significance of secular orienation is understandable.

An intuitive conclusion about drop in empathy with control of the level of living factor may be made by pointing out that leadership roles have always been vested in the upper strata and thus those at the base are never asked to play the role of another. It is a negation of the principle of an inequality based social hierarchy to empathize with the role of the other. A chamar, for example, knows his role and acts in terms of the expectations of others, but he cannot, even in his thoughts, empathize with the role of a priest.

The learning of new skills like the line sowing of crops or the operating of a mechanized thresher is easier than changing the basic values governing role structures. This requires a long period of socialization. In order to develop empathy a basic democratization of institutions is crucial. This is especially true for the familial institution. A family socializes in the context of the strata in which it is placed and when the social system is a more or less closed one, the psychic mobility

is restricted to the privileged few at the top of the hierarchy. Thus, while higher empathy and higher adoption occur together, the intervening variable is the higher level of living. Those at the lowest rung of the economic ladder are the least concerned with such mental exercises.

Summary of findings about individual innovativeness

If the village is the social unit in which the peasant interacts, then his innovativeness must have considerable association with his placement in this unit. Though the village is an independent entity, it has come increasingly into direct and indirect contact with the larger society. The acceptance of modern technology is a departure, in many ways, from the peasant way of life and is expected to produce significant cognitive changes. In the first step of the study a comparison of the village communities was made in an attempt to discover the conditions of development in structural makeup of the community. The second phase of the study seeks to determine the correlation of innovativeness with personal, social, ecmomic intersystemic and attitudinal variables. The findings are as follows :

1. Innovators are middle-aged persons who, unlike the young, are mature in decision-making and, unlike the old, are prepared to take on new experiences.

2. Education of the respondent and his family is significantly correlated with higher adoption. However, family literacy is non-significant in the less developed villages.

3. Both extended structure and large family are positively associated with innovativeness.

4. It is neither the larger number of earners in a family, nor the diversified non-farm employment that makes a significant contribution to one's ability in accepting modern agricultural practices. In less developed villages non-farm income has a positive, though a nonsignificant relationship with the ability to accept modern practices.

5. The material possessions of an individual are the most significant social status variables. When caste lines and levels of living converge, as in more developed villages, the former is significant, where there is no such convergence, as in less developed villages, caste status is non-significant. The extent

of one's social participation is a function of one's social status and is positively related to innovativeness.

6. In villages inhabited mostly be owner cultivators, size of landholding and operational unit are both the same and significantly related with adoption of modern practices. This is so in the more developed villages. Among the part-tenant and part-owner majority in the less developed villages, it is the operational unit and not the total land owned that has significance for higher adoption. Those making rapid strides in development are the villages with individuals who work with hired labour on large holdings, while in the less developed villages even the innovators have small farms largely worked with family labour. The number of bullocks and mechanized implements show a significant correlation with innovativeness but become non-significant when size of operational unit is controlled.

7. Among the inter-systemic variables, the contact with change agency has highly significant correlation with innovativeness. This is irrespective of the level of living of the respondent which has a non-suppressent effect on the exposure to mass media. The main medium of mass communication is radio, followed by the newspaper. Physical communication with the city is non-significant among individuals with higher adoption, when the level of living is controlled in the more developed villages but highly significant among respondents from less developed villages irrespective of such controls.

8. There is a more modern orientation toward agriculture among those having higher adoption and this is significantly correlated even after controlling the level of living. The effective proof of increase in yield has convinced all that larger input in agriculture bears fruit in the immediate future. When one is willing to produce more than required for consumption, which also means increased investment of money, time and effort, commercial orientation is the natural outcome. Modern agriculture does not tally in its calendar with traditional timings of sowing and harvesting, thus the positive relationship of innovativeness with rational orientation.

Other attitudes show varying degree of relationship, after this control. The respondents from less developed villages

have a higher willingness for postponing immediate satisfaction than their counterparts. Perhaps increase in consumption, enhancement of social status symbols, and investment in material objects like a house, are more pronounced in the initial stages of development.

More developed villages show a higher correlation between innovativeness and secular orientation than the less developed ones. In the more developed villages, the demands of intensive cultivation requiring larger labour input, and the need for low caste support for village leadership necessitates a more accommodating attitude on the part of the high caste. The secular orientation, as measured in this study, shows a weakening of sacred belief only with regard to agriculture, health, and mixing of children from different strata in schools. Rigid caste rules still govern personal relations, commensality and marriage,. But these features of rural society do not come into conflict with the adoption of modern ideas in the work patterns.

Empathy, as a highly emphasized characteristic of the modern man, shows a strong association with innovativeness but through the intervening variable of level of living.

The last two measures of an individual's mental orientations are : higher education for children and willingness to take a more remunerative job requiring detachment from family, village and caste norms. There are strong higher educational aspirations for sons among all sections of respondents. It was expected that economic pull would be more strongly correlated with individuals showing low adoption and therefore greater need for extra village, or extra farm employment. The finding is contrary to this in the more developed villages, where the more innovative individuals are also the more desirous of increasing their income even if it means extra labour and working with low castes. In the less developed villages, however, the attachment to one's family, village and caste values is strong, thus a weak relationship.

CHAPTER SIX

Modernizing Indian Peasants

A quarter of a century is not a long period in the history of a society that chose to modernize through democratic planned social change, and that too, simultaneously on all fronts. As a consequence, certain existing social processes have been accelerated, and certain new forces, have intensified the modernizing process. The novel element since Independence is that instead of being confined to few, the norms and values of modernity are being induced into all strata of the Indian social system, in fact they are being taken to the doorstep of every villager. Yet the response to change and the pattern of development does not measure up to the goals of "Community Development." A trend is in evidence that:

> Neighbouring communities of different individuals, equally endowed in terms of resource, opportunities and other factors, nevertheless, show different levels of response, i.e. inclination and capacity for change.[1]

A large range of factors provide the context in which programmes of planned change operate, and it is this context that determines the rate and range of social change. Difference in economic situation, political climate and social relations set the parameters of achivement by individuals and communities.

This study has analysed the modernizing process at both the community and the individual level. Village communities with roughly the same exposure to the modern agricultural technology, show varying levels of development. They have been

[1]Methods Inducing Social Change at the Local Level" Paper prepared by the United Nations Bureau of Social Affairs, January 1966.

compared in terms of demographic, social and agrarian structures, tenurial system, utilization of modern agricultural technology and extent of cooperation in projects of collective welfare. The inter-individual differences are measured regarding innovativeness as indicated by the acceptance of selected agricultural innovations. The independent social and normative variables are personal characteristics, family structure, economic setting, inter-systemic communication and some modern attitudes. The economic aspect of the overall modernization process has been taken as the concrete indicator, though it is unthinkable to undertake to understand it without viewing it in the context of political, social and cultural melieu. The central focus is on the location of structural limits of individual decisions and community development and the role of facilitators like education, political participation and exposure to the outside world. An attempt has also been made to see if economic modernization is accompanied by attitudinal change in behaviour patterns.

The social mapping of the area under study reveals that its main features have been inherited from its feudal past. The Indian rural society has its agrarian structure closely related to the caste system, especially in the correlation between the landless agricultural labourers and low castes. Perhaps the relation between occupation and caste has been most pronounced in the lowest stratum, which seems to have been providing hereditary agricultural labour.[2] The growth of this class during British rule resulted from more efficient revenue collecting techniques, realizing heavy land dues, the default in payment of which would lead to confiscation of land and thus force a growing number of small peasants joining the rank of the landless. Due to the same political and administrative achievements grew a crop of public offices of revenue collectors, who became an important economic power in rural society.

Following independence, the process of establishing democratic institutions, abolishing Zamindari, and plans of economic and social development have sought to introduce new forces of change in rural India. The facts presented in this

[2]D. Kumar "Caste and Landlessness in India." *Comparative studies in Society and History*, Vol. IV, 1961-62.

study show that one of the most decisive factors of development and modernisation lies in the structural makeup of a community.

A large class of non-cultivating proprietary-right land-holders have survived the Land Reform Act, and they continue to derive rent from the tillers of the soil. After abolition of the intermediaries under the Old Zamindari system, land rights could be bought according to some specific conditions providing the owner promised to self-cultivate the land. The former intermediaries evicted the tenants from their land and then reported resumption of cultivation by employing the same tenants but under worse conditions as sharecroppers and agricultural labourers. They still do not till the land. But the official reporting shows that since 1951 there has been a substantial increase in the number of owner cultivators, who infact, continue to evade the law and control land through absentee land ownership.

Since the sharecropper is not a registered category, he has no security of tenancy and lacks the resources to experiment with the new ideas in agriculture, hence low yields from land. It is not traditionalism but a simple cost-benefit analysis that prevents the sharecropper from increasing inputs. Unless the landowner agrees to share cost, we do not expect any change in the situation. The land-owner on the other hand, has little stake in improvment of land since the part of the produce that he gets without much effort is substantial because of the size of total land owned by him. The position continues at several places. While the agrarian structure and the system of social stratification supporting it remains the same, the productive process has been only superficially touching those who do not own the means of production. Among the landed groups there have emerged some groups of individuals who have responded to the new economic, social and political opportunities and enjoy Governmental patronage. They have tactfully managed to retain their traditional influence while combining it with modern opportunities. They constitute the pockets of development in the vastness of lingering rural peasantry.

The state gives selective assistance to 'model farmers'. These are a small group of innovators, consisting of well-to-do individuals having enough exposure to the outside world and

sufficient contact and education to respond quickly to the new productive techniques offered through planned programmes. The Governmental policy of giving them preferential treatment in the supply of agricultural inputs (often subsidised) such as fertilizers, new seeds, technical advice etc., has helped them increase their output. As a consequence, they want to extend their holdings, thus evicting many small peasants from cultivation.

The state policy of favouring the progressive cultivator was to make them the catalysts of rural modernization, as the rest of the community would see the results of their endeavour and be converted to the modernizing ideology. The vital factor overlooked in this implicit assumption was the inability of the rural mass to emulate the innovators due to limitations on account of their insecure tenancy, poverty and initial disadvantages flowing from a ritually determined hierarchy without an effectively implemented reform plan in the agrarian structure. There can not be expected any real progress for them or social justice in society. Nevertheless 'betting on the strong' has increased agricultural produce even if overlooking the principles of social justice. The small and the marginal farmer with little or no marketable surplus can hardly be supported with loans which he cannot pay back. Yet he cannot be neglected in any plans that value social justice.

One of the most interesting observations from this study is the relationship between adoption of modern agricultural innovations and type of landowning caste. It is not any landowning caste but a landowning caste which had direct cultivating tradition that will modernize agriculture. The high concentration of land is a universal feature in Indian village. But the ownership of land among those who live by agriculture and thus use the land for increasing production through scientific control is crucial to development. On the other hand the absentee landowner depending on tenancy is responsible for much of the exploitation in agrarian relations and slackness in development. The former type of landowners are often traditional influentials, who derive more power from economic development which is expressed in gaining influence in politics and offices in administration. They enjoy a broad-based prestige because of their vested interests in plans of community

development, leading to both personal and communal gains.[3] In fact development criteria is essential for a rural leader today.

When these traditional influentials choose to modernize their agriculture, they naturally find intensification of the demand for labour. While the land owner invests in land, the physical input through agricultural labourers has to increase. As one scholar puts it ". . . . . the investment pays off, so does the labour. The understanding that comes out of such mutual appreciation may eventually lead to a new dignity of labour".[4] In such situations if there is an absence of any economically autonomous caste group this balance of inequalities among landowners and agricultural labourers traditionally maintained, is reinforced under a modern pattern of agricultural development. If these landowners extend even some of the benefits of development to these working masses and recognize the new political power of the low ranking groups, there is hardly any scope for potential threat of social or political uprising among the masses. An overall improvment even though disproportionate, in the levels of living as a result of the Green Revolution may lessen tension between classes.[5]

The above situation is, however not found in all the village communities. At some places, an acute short-sightedness has been shown on the part of village leaders who fail to take distributive justice and development criteria into account. They have neither strengthened their economic base by reliance on new type of agriculture, nor taken note of the aspirations and expectations of the fellow villagers, thus forfeiting their chances of continued community support. In their place, step in the

[3]In the developing societies, prestige may be the function of innovation rather than adherence to tradition, See Snell Putney and Gladys J. Putney, "Radical Innovation and Prestige" in *American Sociological Review* (August, 1962, pp. 548-55). Also W.E. Rahudkar, "Local Leaders and their adoption of farm practices". Nagpur Agricultural College Magazine. (Vol. 34: 1-2-1960).

[4]Lakshmana Rao, *Communication and Development: A study of two Indian Villages* (Minn: Minnesota University Press, 1966) p. 78.

[5]See Ralph W. Nicholos, "Structure of Politics in the villages of Southern Asia", V.V.P.A. 47, Structure and Change in Indian Society, P P. 243-84. Also, by the same author, "Politics and law in two West Bengal Villages" *Bulletin of Anthropological Survey of India* (Vol. XI. No. 1, 1962) pp. 14-40.

economically autonomous middle status peasant caste groups, who suffer from status inconsistencies and who question the previous compelling structure of power, may well be the spearhead of rural modernization if they agreed to rise together and if they have favourable support by the State to put their agricultural expertise to its best use.

This segment of population has produced sufficient motivation to change because they suffered from status deprivation. Unlike the high castes, this group does not suffer from any inhibitions regarding manual labour. They also enjoy the support of the lowest stratum in village hierarchy and in turn provide guidance to them, the reason being lesser social distance between them. Jointly they could be a strong political force in rural power dynamics, questioning the legitimacy of upper caste dominance. Economic development and political power are closely related in modern societies. As Bottomore puts it ". . . .political power itself may create new social classes, new property rights, new privileges."[6]

The rural scene shows an increasing erosion of the sentiments of old world paternalism in caste relations. Several middle and lower caste groups have begun to feel a sense of deprivation, after realizing their new found political power, rights and privileges under Government sponsored and subsidised programmes. This has heightened social tensions. In mass-based politics this is a new force to reckon with.

It is not within the scope of this study to make any recommendation for tax, wages or tenurial legislation, but a logical outcome of the data presented poses a very relevant question regarding the compatibility of national goals and patterns of land-ownership. Thorner, among others, rightly observes that the heart of power, prestige and standing in the village lies in land. Put land in the hands of those who are working it and you crack the existing concentration of power, without such reorganisation of the agrarian structure, the planned programmes of change may not only fail to achieve the desired goals but may be responsible for some very unintended consequences. A case for land ceiling has been advocated by

[6]For the implication of political democracy, see T.B. Bottomore, *Classes in Modern Society* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1965).

numerous scholars and committees. The state recognizes the problems but is yet to solve it in an emphatically implemented policy. The fantastic increase in agricultural produce in Mexico and Taiwan was possible only by effective land legislation.

In the wake of the planned social change has come the varietal or "Green Revolution" which has furthered the problems of welfare and equity, which may lead to explosive situations. Any effort at equalization of opportunities and land redistribution are opposed by strong vested interests on the ground, that the new occupants of land may be lacking the required skills and capital for adoption of package of practices offered under modern agricultural technology. But this is not sufficient reason for depriving the tiller of the soil his right to land. It is not the size of land but the ownership of it that is a decisive factor in acceptance of innovations. It has been shown in the case of Japan, that with the exception of large machinery (which too can be modified and indigenously made to suit local conditions), all other factors of production (seed, fertilizer, water) are neutral to the size of land holding.[7] At this stage, a cautious propagation of modern devices specially machines, and encouraging of joint action for e.g. custom-hired services may save the second generation problems of this revolution. Already a beginning is in evidence, as in one of our village communities, of joint ownership and use of tubewells, farm implemets etc. This is a fruitful area where community cooperation of a practical kind is possible and needs to be supported.

The first phase of analysis of this study was the social system of a village. The level of development of village community was expected to be associated with a set of selected variables. It was found that there is not always a unilinear type of development in the process of modernization.[8] There are particularistic

[7]See "*The Agrarian Prospect in India*," Daniel Thorner (Delhi: Delhi University Press, 1956), also A.M. Khusro, *Economics of Land Reform and Farm Size in India* (Madras: Macmillan, 1973) and P.C. Joshi, *Land Reforms in India* (Delhi: Institute of Economic Growth, 1975). For a very vocal and emphatic treatment of the theme, refer to *Lonely Furrow* by Kusum Nair (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1969).

[8]Clifton R. Wharton, Jr. "The Green Revolution: Cornucopia or Pandora's Box? *Foreign Affairs* (April, 1969) pp. 464-76. The plea for

patterns of growth depending on the nature of village structure, resources, leadership and social cohesiveness. Several inconsistent combinations of modern and traditional norms are also found. For example economic modernization is not always accompanied by a scientific world view to all the problems of life or an egalitarian viewpoint regarding social relations. In another situation technological advance may not have been made by a community, but there is ample evidence of a new political and social awakening questioning the inequalities traditionally perpetuated by certain caste groups. The scope of this enquiry was limited to only the economic aspect of modernization and therefore the significant implications of political modernization could not be examined.

This study shows that at the community level, differences in the levels of development have no pronounced differences in terms of population. There is a general increase in population, greater diversification of occupation and rise in literacy, but the more developed communities are growing at a faster rate, have higher female literacy and growing number of hired agriculatural labourers.

An interesting finding is that there are more males with nine years of schooling in the less developed villages. In an agricultural society, while literacy and four or five years of schooling helps deciphering the written instructions that come with modern agricultural technology; education beyond a certain point proves a dissociative experience. It prepares one for extra village employment and leads to very unintended consequences by depriving the village of its major portion of the adult work force so necessary for modern agriculture. Yet, if the income of those who are employed outside agriculture were partly reaped back into land, it proves functional as it reduces the pressure on the land on the one hand, while bringing non-

joint utilization of assets like pumpsets, with rights of individual ownership is advanced by Lester R. Brown, *Seeds of Change* (New York: Praeger, 1969),

[9]For illustration of modernization as a unilinear process, the typical approach is that of Daniel Lerner, who also considers consequences of modernism as universal in nature but not its antecedents: *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East,* (New York: Free Press, 1958.)

farm income into the rural economy. An educational policy for rural education that links the needs of the community with instruction, is called for.

A diversified occupational structure and increase in agricultural labour seems to be a function of increase in the development of a village. This is understandable as a larger number of individuals can be freed from the better-off families and sent for extra village employment. This may sometimes help in reaping back the urban income into agriculture but is invariably helpful in reducing the pressure on land. At the same time intensive cultivation at the present state of mechanisation in India demands an increased perennial supply of agricultural labour. This labour is mostly provided by family members in the less developed villages whereas labour is hired for the agricultural operations in the more advanced villages. Regarding other inputs and efforts such as multiple-cropping, use of animal and machine power, use of fertilisers and improved varieties of seeds, more developed communities naturally take the lead. They have also accelerated the pace of development through use of electricity. One area in which both the types of villages had a surprising similarity is in the utilisation of credit. Obviously it is not going into productive channels in the less developed villages. Government's efforts to assist the peasants by advancing credit on easy conditions has resulted in all categories of peasants managing to obtain it but they do not put it to economically productive uses.

The inter-village differences in terms of economic development have been the focus of this study and it was found that the traditional structure of the village decided who shall profit from the programmes of planned change. This may sound over-simplified picture of peasantry. The Green Revolution has led to different set of consequences in different situations. At the present moment one cannot safely conclude the long-range implications of certain trends. For example in our less developed villages, there may be a low level of adoption of modern agricultural technology, but an acute political awakening and democratization may lead to the acceleration of modern forces diffusing change in the entire community rather than confined to certain category of farmers belonging to certain caste groups. Even at the risk of repeti-

tion, it may be said that increase in production obtained through a handful of innovators may provide for a vital need of the society, but the demand for equitable distribution of facilities and benefits is more worthwhile goal to be kept in mind especially when it can no longer be overlooked. The real challenge is now to make 70 per cent of the rural households with less then 5 acres of land, the real participants in the process of modernization.

Since no major structural change has affected the economic and social relations in rural society, the inequalitarian sturcture continues to be the basis of this society. Scientific agriculture has not been neutral to the social structure of the village. It has had differential impact on different sections of village population depending on its attitudes, traditions and capacities.

The developmental administration has been able to motivate people to some extent, to adopt economic innovations but these are not accompanied with openness to social innovations such as untouchability, equality, secularism etc. The most striking impact of economic opportunities is on two sections of village population. The first is the group of big landowners who have responded well to the modern techniques of increasing production and who have devised capitalist methods of working through hired labour and modern technology. They have been able to reinforce their social and political power. The second is the self-sufficient class of middle caste peasants who enjoy numerical dominance and benefits of economic and technological progress. To this is conferred the right of adult franchise which has empowered them to tilt the balance of power in their favour in some places.

From village community as a point of comparison, the analysis shifts to explain the individual variations in innovativeness which are related with a complex of factors. As an indicator of modernity, innovativeness essentially denotes rationality and scientific outlook as one of its ideal-typical attributes. Yet the personality traits and social attributes considered necessary for modernization may themselves be the products of innovativeness. Since the enlarged economic opportunities have reached a small number of people, the emergence of these traits are also not widely diffused.

In the Indian set-up, an individual is necessarily oriented

to group determined actions, feelings, aspirations and motivations. The Indian personality type has been described as tradition-oriented rather than of an innovator. Family, caste and village form the tripod on which the individual existence rests in a very direct and basic sense. How can such an individual be a decisive factor in decision making? Thus both personal and family characteristics combine to form the first set of variables to be correlated with innovativeness.

Indian peasants do not assume family headship as long as father or an uncle is living, thus they are in their early middle age when they are the decisive factor on the farm. No wonder there is a weak association between age and innovativeness. Literacy, education and family education score are all significantly and highly correlated with higher adoption of modern agricultural practices. But our attitudinal measure of educational aspirations shows a non-significant association, since a uniformly high desire for education for children is found among all villagers.

Among the traditional institutions, joint family is highly conducive to innovativeness and seems to provide the necessary ingredients for entrepreneurial activity. The second pillar of the traditional Indian society is the caste system. Though by and large high castes enjoy ritual as well as economic power, the peasant and lower castes have numerical strength. Planned developmental measures, land reforms, politicization and democratization, though primarily benefiting the upper castes, have also added a new dimension to the power of numerically dominant peasant castes. The latter were always an industrious and enterprising group who have found in modernization a welcome process to override their limitations on account of lower ritual status. Thus to incorporate the different elements that constitute the term social status, caste along with material possessions and social participation were selected as three measures of one's position. The three are not always separable, yet one may find that the first is not the sole determinant in all social situations. This study shows that where extremely unequal caste groups are found, economic modernization is facilitated. On the other hand the presence of a middle status and economically well-to-do caste group exercising political and jural rights, questions the

traditional pattern of dominance. The outcome of such scuffle for power results in continued tensions. A great deal of heat is generated by the energy spent by different factions for a new balance of power in the new village organizations. While politicization is at its height, economic programmes for community do not make much headway. This higher status and economic modernization go together in the more developed villages, because the big landowners have become aware of the great possibilities offered by modern techniques and have undertaken the direct management and supervision of their land through hired labour (some call it capitalist agriculture) On the other hand, the innovative in the less developed are only the peasant castes with small holdings and not the landowning high castes who suffer from caste inhibitions and prejudices, in their attitude to work, are fighting a loosing battle to retain their dominance.

Flowing from the above situation is the consequence that in the more developed villages, caste and class lines merge completely, so material possessions and social participation are the function of caste and thus all are highly correlated with innovativeness. The case of individuals in the less developed communities, however, shows the level of living as the decisive factor for innovativeness as both caste and social participation have a weak and non-significant relationship with innovativeness. As observed before the higher caste dominance is challanged and all caste groups participate in village level politics. But unfortunately the economic purposes are lost sight of. Those who opt for modern economic ways are the relatively well-to-do.

Our next group of variables to be associated with innovativeness are regarding the economic scale of agricultural operations. As expected, those who possess the necessary infrastructure for modern agriculture in the form of human, animal and mechanical power, and capital available easily through credit facilities provided by the Government, will be more likely to adopt modern techniques. The size of holding has no conclusive relationship, as our innovators in the less developed communities are not necessarily big land owners (the latter are absentee land owners mainly from Brahmin caste) but from

a mixed tenancy status of owner cultivation plus share-cropping.

In the modernization process, breaking up of the villagers' isolation is a favourable factor. For this he does not always have to step outside his social system, though that also helps as in the contact with the urban society. There are several ways in which while living in his community, he can share the world view of modernity, as through contact with change agents, use of mass media of communication or through other progressive villagers, who in his opinion are credible enough to lead him. We hypothesised that more the inter-systemic linkages between our respondents and the outside world, more particularly the modernizing ones, the greater will be his degree of innovativeness.

The direct measure of urban contact is highly correlated with modernisation while an indirect measure through number of persons employed in the city from the respondent's family is non-significant. Since urban contact has been very frequent in the past too, we do not view it as a modernizing experience, no matter what the purpose of visit is. A higher weightage for such purpose as are related to agriculture, qualified our measure of urban contact. The present administrative structure of developmental machinery requires the villager to visit centres outside his village. Such as the block and district headquarters, seed stores, training centres etc. In fact in our more developed village communities certain individuals, especially with a few years of education, are deputed to look after the needs that are fulfilled outside the village and require reading of written instructions and writing of applications for loans, other input etc. The direct measure of urban contact was undertaken to see the total urban exposure of the family through urban employed members. But whereas non-farm income is positively contributory to innovativeness, mere occupation outside the village is not.

Inspite of the vehement criticism of the development administration, we observed a high and uniform level of contact with change agents. The village level workers deserve special kudos for this communication, thus a more close and vigorous contact with these catalysts of change will increase the rate of modernization. Their functional impact is evident from the breakdown

in the apathy of the Indian villager towards innovations. This may be a costly channel of communication compared to mass media but the latter are not very effective in semi-literate developing societies, especially because there is one way communication, rarely maintaining feed back from the audience. The inter-personal channels overcome these shortcomings. Along with the contact with change agents, another measure of inter-systemic linkages through opinion leaders in the community was studied to see the personal influence as a determinant of innovativeness or traditionalism. Though the data are meagre on this aspect, a clear two-step flow of information can be seen among more developed communities. While the elected leaders of the community and the more innovative ones enjoy the trust of the other villagers, they themselves seek information through formal change agents. Thus there is a need to intensify institutional services as well as change agents operations since they have been accepted by the leaders as a credible source of information. In the less developed communities we find opinion leaders are not necessarily more innovative than their followers nor are they elected leaders which means a very disharmonic structure of leadership. Those who are sought for advice are one's kinsmen, faction leaders or caste influentials, often without much qualification for modernizing leadership. One is tempted to conclude that where continued traditional influence is combined with altruism, the outcome is beneficial for economic modernization. On the other hand, where there are inter-caste rivalries for leadership, the pace of development is caught in the mire of conflict.

Finally, we sought to find correlates of innovativeness with attitudinal variables. It has been already observed by other researchers that economic benefits are perceived earlier as they lead to immediate satisfaction and bear fruit in a short time. Thus belief in increased yield by scientific methods, willingness to spend more money, time and energy on them, preparedness to grow for commercial purposes and readiness to swap traditional religious-agricultural calendar with modern scientific one, are all correlated strongly with innovativeness. Today there is a growing body of literature to prove that the institutional infra-structure provided by planned social change has

just started bearing fruit in the form of more rational attitudes toward agriculture.

The modern man as measured by his ability to adopt new ways in agriculture, shows a consistency in his behaviour and thought in as far as mental orientations to modern agriculture are concerned.[10] In a way it is the mental preparedness for accepting all related change with advanced technology as used for agriculture. It may be "symbolic adoption", interpreted as the first step to precede the artifactual component of adoption behaviour.[11]

The other than agricultural attitudes studied, show different receptivity among respondents from communities with varying levels of development. The innovators in the social situation with which they are dissatisfied, are more willing for gratification deferral than those coming from advanced communities, perhaps saving for adversity is a compelling force. On the other hand, the individuals from the more progressive villages are in favour of spending for immediate satisfaction. It often enhances one's status besides providing comforts. A new house may sustain the motivation for accepting modern agricultural practices in the initial stages of development. This is a significant value change in a society where austerity and lack of exihibition are being replaced by the desire to acquire more and more material possessions.[12] The lack of national attitude to proposed expenditure may be due to the long period of deprivation. In the long run, however, this increasing materialism can be self-defeating, as in a society already low on capital formation, there is need for saving for greater inputs required in modern technology. It may be observed here that the Government subsidizing of peasantry is allowing them a wider margin to choose between spending on economic-rational, or consumptive status-denoting items.

[10]The intimate relation between action and attitudes is emphasized by Alex Inkeles, "Making Men Modern", *American Journal of Sociology* (Vol. 75, No. 2, September, 1969).

[11]In a brief article, "The Concept of Symbolic Adoption: A Suggested Interpretation" *Rural Sociology* (Vol. 35, March, 1970) Garald E. Klonglan and E. Walter Coward, Jr., review the literature on idea component of adoption process.

[12]W.H. Wiser and C.V. Wiser, *Behind Mud Walls*, (Berkeley: University of Califormia Press, 1963).

The next mental orientation studied was, towards secularism as a basic premise of modernization. It is the belief that man can control his destiny, be it in the form of control over production or in capacity to improve status through achievement or ordering of personal relations. We find that at the present moment, scientific tradition is more commensurate with economic values. In fact very often change in many social values is not called for, specially those that can be conveniently retained. When traditional values (like belief in caste based inequality) or traditional institutions (like joint family) are not detrimental (or are even functional), they can co-exist with modern behaviour in so far as agricultural technology is concerned. Most of the villagers still hesitate to share food and water with individuals from caste lower than their own, and would like to maintain religious and caste segregation in places of worship. The acceptance of modern agricultural technology marks the acceptance of instrumental values of modernity as the gains are immediate and can be effectively demonstrated on the economic front. If one can achieve increase in production and consequent prosperity through ones own efforts, the sacred beliefs in fate etc. are bound to weaken. That is why we found a composite score of secularism highly correlated with innovativeness. The stamp of sacredness on several disabilites associated with low castes is bound to be questioned by them when they see that new technology bears fruit in the same way on their piece of land as on the land of the previleged Brahmin. It is but one remove from the situation of acute social antagonism among polarized social groups ordered along sacred line.

Our next correlate of innovativeness was empathy which is employed to understand the democratization of social roles. Theoretically, leadership is an open occupation in democracy. Thus a potential leader should be able to empathize with a possible future role. We find higher status groups more capable of empathising than the lower ones. It is easier to adopt an instrumental value like learning new skills and techniques in agriculture but difficult to socialize oneself in the art of taking the role of another in a social system where roles and statuses were ascribed and were more or less non-interchangeable. There are in-built structural limitations on one's ablility to

'take the role of another.' We did find more innovative as more empathic but control on the level of living changed the relationship into a very weak one. Thus the suppressing effect of one's economic position (alongwith ritual status) inhibits the lower status to empathise with modern roles. Perhaps, empathy itself may be the product of modernization.

It was expected that the Indian villager being rooted in his soil would rather face hardships there, than go out in the wider unknown world in search of better opportunities; one would also not expect him to switch over to an occupation associated with lower status even if it brought more remuneration. If aspirations are the desired future states of being and an indication of a sense of achievement motivation, the peasants in the more advanced villages show a modern trend by exhibiting a favourable inclination to economic pull. Also desiring high education for their sons and willingness for jobs with more money that may take them away from their family, village or cultural melieu, they show a rational ecnomic appreciation. The individuals in less developed villages have high aspirations but are checked because of the indispensability of family labour for them. Nevertheless, the Indian process of modernization has resulted in tremendous increase in aspirations among all sections of people. The lack of corresponding resources and facilities to meet them, results in largely frustrated mass of people who can not be comfortable component of any population. Hence the need for broad social base.

Planned social change and modernization have been viewed in this study as a multilinear transformation of the Indian rural society, which shows both the individual and community variations in modernization conditioned in many ways by the traditional past. The simultaneous existence of both modern and traditional modes of socio-economic life, may be seen as a normal aspect of the process of change.

Since more change has been compressed in the last two decades than in the previous two centuries, the study has a value of a clinical record of a real life situation. As an attempt at seeking relevant conceptual scheme for behavioural change through induced stimuli, the excercise in its cross-cultural comparative value needs no emphasis. Modernization does not denote passing of the entire traditional society. In a still

traditional social structure, several modern organisations, institutions and attitudes may develop. The variablility in the emergence of this modern complex among several village communities is a sign of continuously shifting set of values and attitudes at what Dube calls the 'Twilight of transition'. At the moment the local scene determines the community's pace of development but there is bound to emerge a macro-ethos towards a uniform pattern. This does not imply that there is any single destination for the modernizing peasantry nor any unidirectional change in the whole range of social processes in a society. In fact the great variability in the social structures of different societies affect the pace and patterns of modernization. As has been observed in this study, there is not one single process of social change, but several of them, some tradition-bound though functional, and others arresting the modernizing trends. Yet there is an unmistakable beginning towards economic, social, and political changes, many generated by planned change programmes, towards some measures of greater social mobilization, greater social participation, increased rationality atleast in the economic undertaking, a growing awareness of acute economic and social polarities, and a beginning is evident towards democratisation as the land owning rural peasant castes are emerging powerful and influential. That these trends are not diffused on a wide scale is due to the fact that even after independence no basic change has taken place in social stratification which continues to be inegalitarian in character.

Any attempt at studying a complex traditional society in its transitional phase is bound to have limitations. The concepts emphasized are not the only crucial ones, nor the findings infallible. It is also difficult to delineate social change as a product of planned efforts from several other forces which are at work from a continuous past.

The needed research in this direction is for analysing the social consequences of modernizing processes on the overall structure of the society and their implications for an emerging social order. Planned social changes aim to alter certain given arrangements in the social set-up, but they also generate certain unanticipated consequences which a social scientist must unveil so that we can not only study what is changing and how is it changing, but also indicate the future state to emerge.

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